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# BRITISH WAR HISTORY.

## TESTIMONIALS.

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*From SIR W. C. TREVELYAN, Wallington.*

"I am glad to see that your valuable series of Papers on 'British War History,' in the *Herald of Peace*, is to be published in a separate form; and I should wish to have as many copies as a contribution of one 'sovereign will purchase."

*From HENRY RICHARD, Esq., M.P.*

"I consider that in writing those articles you have rendered a valuable service to the cause of Peace. The volume will supply what has been long a *desideratum* in our literature, and will, I hope and believe, prove acceptable to a large circle of readers."

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"You certainly have laid the Peace Cause under great obligations for the labour, research, time, and pains, their compilation must have required to prepare them. I hope you will publish them in a separate volume, that they may be accessible to all the reading public."

*An American Gentleman (Illinois) writing in reference to a certain eventuality, proceeds to say:—*"I have been exceedingly interested in reading your articles in the London *Herald of Peace*, entitled 'British War History during the Present Century.' \* \* \* I think we shall want several hundreds of them as soon as they are ready; and other hundreds from time to time afterwards."

*From the Annual Report of the London Peace Society for 1869.*

"Among Mr. Stokes' labours during the past year must be mentioned the valuable series of historical articles, under the title of 'British War History during the Present Century,' which he has contributed to the *Herald of Peace*. These are now near their completion, when the Committee hope they will be re-published in a separate volume, as a work of reference and instruction which may be of great and lasting use."

# BRITISH WAR HISTORY

During the Present Century.

BY WILLIAM STOKES,

MANCHESTER,

*Author of "A Prize Essay on War," "European Congress in lieu of War," "The Olive-Branch," etc., etc.*

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO JOSEPH PEASE, ESQ.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY, AND LATE  
M.P. FOR SOUTH DURHAM.



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# DEDICATION.

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TO

Joseph Pease, Esq.,

PRESIDENT OF THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY,  
AND LATE M.P. FOR SOUTH DURHAM.

DEAR SIR,

With very great respect, I dedicate to you the following small volume on a subject but too little known by the British people. The great French war, which created the far largest portion of our national debt, is not understood by the British public in general; hence they have always regarded it as a necessity which it was not possible to avoid. This is a very grave mistake, and one object of the

following work is to correct this pernicious error.

Had the Christian principles of your own distinguished religious body, or those of the London Peace Society, prevailed in the year 1791, there would have been no French war, and no national debt to any amount worth mentioning. Those yet despised principles will, before long, govern the whole world, and we, who *know* this, have but to be "*stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord,*" in order to make the Divine prophecy a living fact, that the nations shall "**LEARN WAR NO MORE.**"

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours most truly,

WILLIAM STOKES.

MANCHESTER,

*Sept. 15, 1869.*

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# BRITISH WAR HISTORY

DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

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## CHAPTER I.

FROM 1800 TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

THE year 1800 opened gloomily upon the British nation, "wars, and rumours of wars," being the burden of all discussion, whether at the family fire-side, the senate, the palace, or, too frequently, in the sanctuary of religion. George III. was in the fortieth year of his reign, and the sixty-second of his age. William Pitt had now held the premiership for nearly seventeen years, having been appointed to that office December 27th, 1783; and the national debt amounted to what was then regarded as the ruinous sum of £451,699,919 of money.\* The navy cost £13,619,029; the army,

\* Authorities differ on the amount of the debt, owing chiefly to the difference in the period of the year when they made their

£9,588,951; the militia and fencibles, £2,382,816; and the ordnance, £6,000,767. Total, for war purposes, £31,591,563. To this should be added £19,813,569, as interest for the war debt, and the grand total is £51,405,132. The available war force in men stood thus :—

Army . . . . .	168,082
Navy . . . . .	110,000
Militia . . . . .	100,000
Volunteers . . . . .	400,000
Fencibles . . . . .	12,000
	<hr/>
Total force in men . . . . .	790,082 *

This enormous force was directed chiefly against the French Republic, with Napoleon Buonaparte as its first consul; but, as the nature, extent, and objects of the war grew out of the hatred of the British Government to the French Republicanism of the latter part of the eighteenth century, it will be necessary to review the leading events of the period, from the breaking out of the first French war in 1793.

several computations. The difference, however, is but slight in any case.

\* *Vide* Gleig's *Military History*, p. 257; and the *Annual Register* for 1800, *Appendix*, pp. 144-160.

That war met with stern opposition from the best friends of the people in all parts of the country, but more especially from patriotic men in both Houses of Parliament. Lords Lansdowne, Lauderdale, Derby, and Stanhope, entered direct and earnest protests against it on the records of the House. The last-mentioned peer stated, among other powerful reasons for his protest, that "the old despotic and detestable government in France, from its secrecy, its perfidy, treachery, and restless ambition, has been the fatal cause of many wars in Europe for several centuries past. Therefore, any assistance given on the part of our Government to any power in Europe that is endeavouring to restore that tyrannical form of government in France, is injurious to the true interests of this country. And the people of France have, moreover, as just a right to enjoy civil liberty as ourselves."

In the House of Commons the servility and assumption of the court party did not deter the independent members from expressing their dissent in bold and decisive language. Mr. Sheridan said that, "as to the question of a war, he should vote that English minister to be impeached who should enter into a war for the purpose of

re-establishing the former despotism in France; who should dare in such a cause to spend one guinea, or spill one drop of blood." Charles James Fox, Mr. Grey, and other members were scarcely less forcible in their denunciations of the war; and among the general public the feeling of dissatisfaction was equally strong, until the war party had corrupted and misled the people. Then, as in many other cases, the community at large encouraged the Government to prosecute a conflict which they soon learned to condemn; but, unfortunately, the condemnation came much too late to prevent the consequences of their own folly. Prior to that period, and when the people acted for themselves, they saw through the ministerial haze, and believed in the assurance of the Republic through the minister F. Chauvelin, who, under the date of December 27, 1792, wrote, "It is evident that the French nation is desirous of maintaining peace with England;" and he implored the ministry of his Britannic Majesty "to consider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which will incontestably be their own work, the consequences of which cannot be otherwise than fatal to the two countries, and to human *nature in general.*"

But, in the face of all remonstrance, and utterly reckless of consequences, the Pitt ministry were determined on the war. In vain were the strong protests of the Lords, and equally in vain the stirring and eloquent appeals of the Commons; right or wrong, for better or worse, ministers were resolved on bloodshed as the only means their shallow conceptions supplied of supporting monarchical government in Europe. And the unpopularity of their conduct increased as the war went on. Hence, when the King went down to open Parliament in 1795, "As the royal carriage passed along the park, the predominant exclamations were, 'Peace! Peace!—Give us bread!—No Pitt!—No famine!—No war!' A few voices were heard to exclaim, 'Down with George!' or words to that effect. In the park and in the streets adjacent to Westminster Hall, some stones and other things were thrown, nine of which, it is asserted, struck the state-coach." On the return of his Majesty the outrage was renewed, and, "after the king had alighted at St. James's, the populace attacked the state carriage, and in its way through Pall Mall to the Mews it was almost demolished." \*

\* *Annual Register* for 1796, pp. 6 and 7.

The discontent was wide-spread and all but universal. If the action taken was less noisy and more respectful (as it ever should be) than the above, it was equally decided in the tone of its opposition to the insane policy of the ministry. "Petitions having been presented," says the Editor of the *Annual Register* for 1797, "from almost every county, city, and town in England, to his Majesty for peace and the dismissal of his ministers, we shall only give the following specimens, containing most of the arguments that could be brought for that purpose, and of which most of the others are but echoes." (Appendix, p. 83.) Then he gives in full petitions from the Lord Mayor and livery of the City of London; resolutions of the same body; from the nobility, gentry, clergy, yeomanry, and freeholders of the county of Middlesex; from the city and liberty of Westminster, and from the freeholders of the county of Down. Two brief extracts from those of the city and livery of London will be sufficient to show the views entertained of the war by the thinking middle classes of that period. They say, in addressing the King, "We lament that by the evil instigations of your Majesty's advisers, these nations have been plunged into a war unparalleled

in misery and destruction, which has nearly ruined our commerce, impoverished our manufactures, depopulated our country, sapped the public credit, and widely extended the most flagitious corruption." They also "Resolved, That the representatives for this city in parliament be instructed to make a motion, or support a motion,—‘That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his presence and councils his present weak and wicked ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace,’ and they are hereby instructed accordingly." But, in the face of this strong opposition, the monarch, the senate, and the war, remained for years longer in the hands of those "weak and wicked ministers," notwithstanding a renewed and most vigorous protest in the early part of 1798, which was supported by twenty-five of the peers, among whom were the Dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, the Earls Derby and Thanet, and Lords Holland and Ponsonby.

Late in 1799 Napoleon Buonaparte returned from Egypt, and, having obtained the office of First Consul, one of his earliest acts was to propose peace to the King of England.\* For this

\* It is believed that he wrote the letter the very next day.

purpose he wrote the following letter to his Majesty, which, as a proof of his desire to close the war between the two countries, is given here in full :—

“ FRENCH REPUBLIC.—SOVEREIGNTY OF  
THE PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

“ BUONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL OF THE REPUBLIC, TO HIS  
MAJESTY THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

“ *Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year  
of the Republic. \**

“ Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty. The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who

\* Corresponding with December 25th, 1799.

reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

“Your Majesty will only see, in this overture, my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the world.

“BUONAPARTE.” \*

To this letter a reply was sent, dated Jan. 4th, 1800, in which his Majesty is made to say, that “the best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence [that of peace] would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad: such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles

\* *Annual Register* for 1800, pp. 209, 210.

in the way of negociation or peace." His Majesty faintly concedes to France the right to choose her own form of government ; yet nothing can be more obvious than the intention to continue the war in the interests of the Bourbons. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, C. M. Talleyrand, wrote in full an answer to this on January 14th, which concludes in the following manner :—" On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with a universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to these calamities, or, in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached [imputed ?] to those only who shall have provoked them, that the First Consul of the French Republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves, without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace, and a good understanding between the *French Republic* and England. The First Consul

offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose." Lord Grenville replied on the 20th of January, and in the name of the King reiterated the decision in the note of the 4th inst., and once more the British Government rejected the pacific proposal of Napoleon.

On the 27th, the subject of this correspondence came before the House of Lords, when the Duke of Bedford denounced, in strong terms, the conduct of the Government, and was warmly supported by Lord Holland, and other noble Lords. But the duke's amendment was defeated by seventy-nine against six. On February 3rd, the same question was discussed in the Commons, when, after most eloquent and powerful speeches from Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Erskine, Mr. C. J. Fox, and other members, in condemnation of the war, the address was carried by a ministerial majority of 260 against 64. On the 28th of the same month, a bolder step was taken in the Commons by Mr. Tierney, who moved, "That it was the opinion of that house that it was both unjust and unnecessary to carry on the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France." A very long debate ensued; but, though the motion was supported by a number of able speeches, it was

defeated by 142 against 34. Similar motions followed in May and July, the first of which being negatived by but a majority of eight votes.

By this brief review of the war against the French Republic, we are brought to the middle of the year 1800. With the "battle and murder" upon the Continent, in India, and some other parts, it is not our purpose to deal further than to remark that, chiefly, they sprang out of this great French war, and that the blood of thousands of mankind, in distant portions of the globe, lies at the door of those statesmen who first counselled and encouraged this disastrous war against France. In May Napoleon led his army across the Alps into Italy, and in June fought and gained the murderous battle of Marengo against the Austrians. In September the island of Malta surrendered to the British, after a blockade of more than two years' duration. The year 1801 opened with the union of Great Britain and Ireland. During the year Sir Ralph Abercrombie fought and died in Egypt; Lord Nelson bombarded and nearly destroyed Copenhagen; and Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) was shedding human blood on a vast scale by most *fearful battles* in India. France and England,

both alike becoming sick at heart with the war, commenced pacific negotiations on October the 1st, 1801, which led to the signing of the *Treaty of Amiens*, on March 27th, 1802. Spain and Holland uniting in this treaty, peace was once more restored to groaning, suffering Europe. By this treaty Great Britain gave up all her conquests, except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon; and the demon of war retired, at least for a time, to allow the more welcome angel of peace to wave the olive branch over the foolish nations of Europe.

Now, what was gained to humanity, to freedom, or civilisation, by this appalling strife? During this terrible war the loss of life among all parties was not less than 700,000 men. According to Porter,\* Great Britain added to her debt the enormous sum of £375,264,941; and incalculable suffering and misery were inflicted upon mankind; yet what was gained—really gained—to any of the parties by this murderous conflict? Let an impartial historian answer this question.

“Thus ended the revolutionary war, in the defeat

\* Progress of the Nation, Section 4, page 289.

of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed, of indemnity for the past, and of security for the future, and in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French Republic, and pursued with unremitting activity by all her successive rulers. By the Peace of Amiens, a great part of the continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France, and French influence remained predominant from the German Ocean to the Bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her 'child and champion' established his ascendancy; her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded; and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the princes originally confederated against France professed to have in view, was attained. On the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress." \*

[This chapter would not be complete without giving the *subsidies* paid by England to various foreign powers, as aids to help her to "fight the

\* Robertson's *History of the Reign of George the Third*, vol. 2, page 898.

French." These were :—Hanover, three times ; Hesse Cassel, four times ; Sardinia, four times ; Prussia ; Hesse Darmstadt, five times ; Baden, twice ; Germany, four times ; Brunswick, four times ; Portugal, twice ; Prince of Orange ; Russia, twice ; German princes, twice ; and Bavaria.—Total paid in subsidies from 1793 to close of 1801, £15,106,051 ; and this large sum was sent out of the country for fighting purposes at a time when hundreds of English families were nearly starving for want of bread. —*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, Section 4, pp. 335, 336.]

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR, IN 1803.

THE peace of Amiens lasted just one year and twenty-three days, reckoning from the proclamation of peace on April 26th, 1802, to the declaration of war on May 18th, 1803. It proved to be but a breathing-time—or a mere truce—between jealous nations, whose desire to humiliate each other was only equalled by the utter disregard of consequences in the attainment of the criminal purpose. It resembled far more the “lull” between the rounds of vulgar, low-bred pugilism than the noble love of peace, which two great *Christian* nations ought to have displayed.

This eager rushing into war contrasted, all the more painfully, with the royal proclamation of peace, of which the following is a copy :—

“By the King.—A Proclamation. G. R.

“Whereas a definite treaty of peace and friendship has been concluded between us, the French Republic, his Catholic majesty

and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the twenty-seventh day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged : in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions ; and we do declare to all our loving subjects, our will and pleasure, that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever ; strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

“ Given at our court, at Windsor, the 26th day of April, 1802, in the 42nd year of our reign.

“ God save the King.”\*

The *letter* of this proclamation was all that could be desired ; but the sequel will too sadly prove how much of insincerity often lurks below the surface of national intercourse. The history of statesmanship is, with slight exceptions, a history of cunning and dishonesty ; and he who would learn the nature of truth and manly sincerity, must look elsewhere than to courts and cabinets for the lesson.

The ostensible cause of this hasty return to war

\* *Annual Register* for 1802, p. 615.

was the misinterpretation, or the studied neglect, of one clause in the treaty of Amiens respecting the evacuation of the island of Malta by the forces of Great Britain. That clause ran thus:—"The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner, if possible." And the treaty further provided that, "The independence of the isles of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, and Prussia." The treaty also stated, that "The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed."\*

Which of the two governments—that of England or of France—was the *first* to break away from this treaty, it is now very difficult to determine; but one important particular is beyond all doubt, which is, that "within three months, or sooner if possible," the island of Malta *was not evacuated by the British forces*; and, after a careful examination of all the facts of the case, we are obliged, though reluctantly, to come to the conclusion that it was never

\* *Annual Register*, 1802, p. 611.

honestly intended to be. Of the justice of this painful conclusion, the strongest proof is found in the flimsy nature of the governmental defence for retaining the island. It was utterly unworthy of the British nation, and amply justified the parliamentary rebuke of Mr. Fox, that "there was a great deal of shuffling on both sides."\*

An event so disastrous to humanity at large, and to Europe in particular, did not occur without evoking very heavy censure from those patriotic members of both houses of Parliament whom official ties did not bind hand and foot to the car

\* To the last Napoleon insisted that the British were the *first* to break the treaty of Amiens. In a conversation with his English surgeon, Barry E. O'Meara, in the year 1817, he said, "I told the admiral that you had been the first violators of the peace of Amiens; that your ministers, who boast so much of not having acknowledged me as emperor, were so conscious themselves of having been the violators of the treaty, that they offered, through Lord Whitworth, to give thirty millions of francs, and to assist, as much as lay in their power, to make me King of France, if I would consent to the English retaining Malta." "I took the liberty," said the doctor, "of asking to whom the proposal had been made." To which Napoleon replied, "To *Malouet*, who was minister to Louis a short time ago. My answer to this offer was, 'Tell Lord Whitworth that I will owe nothing to strangers, or to their interference. If the French nation do not of themselves create me king, foreign influence shall never be employed by me to obtain it.'"—*Vide Napoleon in Exile*, by B. E. O'Meara, vol. ii, pp. 21, 22.

of a foolish and wicked national ambition. In the Lords, the Duke of Richmond, Lords Stanhope, Lansdowne, and King, spoke strongly against a war for the small island of Malta; and in the Commons, very powerful speeches were delivered in condemnation of the Government. In a speech of manly eloquence, Mr. Fox gave utterance to sentiments which are applicable to other times than those of 1803. He said, "he was alarmed when he heard of the unusual exertions that should be made in this war, and that from an old member (Mr. Pitt) who had already so much increased the burdens of the nation. That gentleman seemed to threaten us with an increase of two or three hundred millions to our debt, and that purely for Malta, unconnected with any great, general, generous interest of Europe.\* He had, in his life-time, heard plenty of philippics, such as Demosthenes might have envied; but whenever he heard members indulging the house with luxurious treats of eloquence, full-dressed speeches,

\* The *addition* to the debt from that second French war exceeded the large sum of £345,000,000, and this represents but a portion of the entire outlay. In the last year alone of that war, the expenditure reached the amazing amount of more than £106,000,000 !

and high-toned declamations, he pitied the people whose lot it was to pay dearly for all this. It put him in mind of the French proverb, '*Le cout ote le gout*;' and certainly, it must be admitted, that the fine speeches in the American war, and in the last, cost the country dear enough." And at another sitting, he said, "leaving this 'unsatisfactory state of Europe' out of the question, he would ask what insults had France offered to this country, or what infractions she had committed of the treaty of Amiens? He really thought that, if we were so little influenced by considerations of justice and policy, as to be resolved upon the re-commencement of war, we should find it difficult to get a pretext for it. As to the disposition of the people of this country,—without pretending to be a better judge than other gentlemen, yet it was his opinion, that there never was a time when the cry for war was less the sense of the people of England than at the present moment. A supposed cry of the people of England was set up, which in fact only proceeded from a coalition of newspapers, who probably wished for war as the means of selling more of their papers. There was another description of persons who gained

by war, namely, those who by money bargains, stock-jobbing, loans, contracts, and other means which war affords, accumulate large fortunes in a few years of war. He concluded by hoping that the sense of the nation might be to retain the advantages of the peace they had made." \*

Mr. Fox was perfectly correct in asserting that at that particular period the people of England were by no means eager for the renewal of the war; for the advantages of the peace were too recent and too unmistakeable to be overlooked or forgotten. The income tax had been repealed in December, 1802; the price of bread had gone down from *one shilling and tenpence halfpenny the quartern loaf*, in 1801, to a much lower price in 1803; and so fearful were the merchants of London, and the citizens generally, of a return to heavy taxation by the renewal of the war, that just about a month after the declaration of war they met in common hall, and expressed their strong opposition to any renewal of the income tax. Yet, notwithstanding this early indifference, or opposition, to the war, the determination of the Government in its favour had not been long before

\* *Annual Register* for 1803, pp. 12, 13, 154, &c.

the country, when the people were all but furious in its support, and from one end of the land to the other they were enthusiastic, almost to madness itself, to once more shed the blood of the French. The causes of this remarkable change require a candid statement; but how far the methods employed to create this unseemly *furor* among the people confer honour upon the Government of that day, must be left to each reader to decide.

On such a subject, a reference to public official documents is far safer than any appeal to the numerous *histories* which profess to deal with the serious events of 1803. Scarcely one of them is free from the passion and misrepresentation that prevailed at that period, and which it has been considered fashionable, and always profitable to their authors, to perpetuate as feeders to the vanity of the national mind. The amount of injury done to the successive generations of "Young England" by the popular school-books which they were taught to read and believe, especially in "boarding-schools," it is utterly impossible even to conjecture; but it is perfectly correct to declare with emphasis, that before the *men* of England 'can know the truth of things since 1790, they will

have to forget much of the historic learning of their boyhood.

While England was teeming with reports of the "duplicity," "ambition," "cunning," "crafty designs," &c., &c., &c., *ad nauseam*, of Napoleon, the following paragraphs appeared in an "Act of Government," addressed by him as First Consul to the French people, and circulated through the length and breadth of France. It was an exposition of the condition of France, viewed commercially, financially, and politically. Let the reader candidly examine how far that man deserved the heavy charges that were hurled against him by the press of Great Britain. The "Act" says, "The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The Government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. The Government guarantees to the nation the peace of the Continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire, of all nations. For its preservation the Government will do everything compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of the treaties."

After alluding to the division of parties in England, and the possible influence that the "intrigues" in London might have on the British Government, it goes on to say,—

"But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the British Cabinet nothing will be listened to but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity. Yea, doubtless, the peace will daily be more consolidated. The relation of the two Governments will assume the character of good-will which is suitable to their mutual interests. A happy repose will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a disastrous war, and France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world.

"The First Consul,

"(Signed) BONAPARTE.

"By order of the First Consul,

"The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET."

The above was dated, "Paris, 3rd Ventose (Feb. 22nd)," in 1803. On the April 25th following, Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador at Paris, wrote home and reported a conversation with the French minister, M. Talleyrand, in which the latter repeated a former statement, to the effect, "That the First Consul was determined not to

give his consent to our retaining Malta. . . . But that, at all events, he neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens." From these passages it is clear that the retention of Malta by the British Government, in opposition to the treaty of Amiens, was the prime cause of another dreadful war.

In less than two months from the issuing of the above "Act" of the First Consul and his minister, George III. announced to the House of Commons that he had commenced war with France, and that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris. This was on May 16th, 1803,\* and he stated that "the spirit of ambition and encroachment, which at present actuates the councils of France," has obliged him to rely on his "loyal subjects" to support him in the struggle.

The whole subject came before the House of Lords on June 2nd following, when Earl Fitzwilliam moved a series of seven resolutions in condemnation of the entire policy of the ministry, in withholding from Parliament and the country, until the last moment, the information that induced them to declare war against France. The last resolution was the following:—"That by

\* The declaration of war followed in two days.

these instances of misconduct, in the most important concerns of the country, his Majesty's ministers have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of this House, and incapable of administering with advantage the public affairs, in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger." The earl was not strong enough for the war party, who defeated him by 86 to 17.\*

But the simple facts themselves, though combined with ministerial exaggerations which were intended to give them weight in the country at large, would never have aroused the public mind to the pitch of almost furious hostility to Bonaparte which very soon followed. In fact, the *truth itself would never have done it*; recourse was had therefore, to every petty meanness of ribaldry, caricature, and misrepresentation, that could be devised or imagined, with a view to making him hateful to the entire community. No language was too low, no epithets too disgraceful or absurd, and no falsehood too gross, for the work of defaming the First Consul of France. He was described as the incarnation of all known evil, and as utterly void of every good, both human and divine. Consequently, to detest and revile

\* *Annual Register* for 1803, pp. 760, 721, 647, 652.

Napoleon was applauded as patriotic, loyal, and virtuous to an eminent degree.

The *Universal Chronologist*, under the date of June 30th, 1803, contains the following damaging record of the deeds of the ministry at this inglorious period of our history:—"At this period most of the printing presses in the kingdom were employed by the agents of ministers in printing libels against Bonaparte, for the purpose of fomenting a national war spirit. Thousands of the most absurd fables, and incredible anecdotes, were in consequence disseminated during several years, which fully answered the intent proposed by Government."\* By such unworthy and disgraceful means the Addington ministry let loose the firebrands of national hostility, which too speedily set all Europe in a blaze.†

Bonaparte—provoked nearly to madness, and irritated beyond human endurance by these

\* Vol. ii. p. 1,097.—An equally dishonourable course was adopted in reference to the Crimean war, in 1854. The misrepresentations at that time were equally scandalous with those of 1803.

† The Pitt ministry resigned in March, 1801, after having held office for more than seventeen years. Mr. Addington (afterwards known as Lord Sidmouth) then became premier, and throughout his brief term of office (he resigned in 1804) *the above odious and unmanly course was pursued.*

wicked distortions of the British Government and press—sacrificed prudence and justice itself at the shrine of a haughty revenge which defied all restraint, and finally became a common scourge to the civilized world. But his subsequent ambition and crimes were the fruit of a tree planted by guiltier hands than his own.\*

\* Many years after this, and indeed to his end, Napoleon declared his sincere desire to cultivate friendship with England. In a conversation with his English doctor, in 1816, he said, "Let your ministers say what they please, I was always ready to make a peace. After Tilsit, and at Erfurth, a letter containing proposals of peace to England, and signed by the Emperor Alexander and myself, was sent to your ministers, but they would not accept of them." "After the treaty of Amiens, I would also have made a good peace with England. Whatever your ministers may say, I was *always* ready to conclude a peace upon terms equally advantageous to both. I proposed to form a commercial treaty, by which, for a million of English manufactured or Colonial produce taken by France, England should take the value of a million of French goods in return. I would have made, and have kept a fair peace; but your ministers always refused to make one on equal terms, and then wished to persuade the world that I was the violator of the treaty of Amiens."—" *Napoleon in Exile*," vol. i. pp. 207, 208, 353, 354.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE FRENCH WAR IN  
1803, TO THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ AND  
THE TREATY OF PRESBURG.

No sooner had war been declared than both Governments proceeded, with an equal avidity, to the fearful arbitrament of the sword. Their reckless, if not even indecent haste, evinced neither remorse for the past, nor a prudential regard for the responsibilities of the future; but every moral and humane sentiment appeared to be systematically laid aside in a blind rage to shed one another's blood. It was a terrible spectacle, and though much more than half a century has elapsed since that appalling struggle recommenced, it is impossible to review the dim and dismal scene without an involuntary shudder. The spirit displayed by the two Governments proves beyond all question that when national animosities are once aroused man ceases to be man. We would gladly draw a veil over that dark part of Anglo-French history, were it not

that the prevention of future evil depends materially on its honest exposure in the past.

The King's message, announcing the withdrawal of the British Ambassador from Paris, was sent down to Parliament on the 16th of May, but war was not *declared* until the 18th, or two days after; yet on the 17th, or a day before the declaration of war, an Order in Council was published, directing reprisals "against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French Republic," and proclaiming at the same time an embargo on all French and Batavian ships in British ports.\* This precipitancy, as might have been expected, threw Napoleon into a violent rage; and many years afterwards, when in exile, he continued to complain of the seizure of French property and subjects *before the declaration of war*, and before he had detained the English in France. He proceeded at once to retaliation, and on the 22nd issued an order for the detention of all British subjects then in France, as prisoners of war. How far, on even the loose principles of war, the provocation or the retaliation could be justified, must be left to the decision of those easy casuists who regard

\* *Cabinet History of England*, vol. xxiii, p. 106.

every act of atrocity as right that damages an enemy. The admirers of war may gloss over these deeds of violence and wrong as they please, and even convert them into sources of national "glory"; but let them not forget that there is a higher tribunal than their own, before which "all actions are weighed."

This retaliatory act of Napoleon was loudly condemned as something unheard of, and as directly contrary to the law of civilised nations. He was compared to Robespierre, and the act itself described as having added "another indelible blot on the character of the ferocious Corsican." There were imputed to him all the qualities of the savage combined with all the cunning and callousness of a demon. Yet few who indulged in these epithets ever saw, or cared to see, his own official minute of the transaction; and there appears to have been a studied intention on the part of almost every English writer to keep it from the public eye.\* As historic

\* Even Robertson, the historian of the reign of George III., slurs over this transaction in a way that does small honour to his general impartiality. He gives the preamble of the above *in part*, also a portion of the 3rd Article, but no more. To these he attaches equally unfair comments, but studiously avoids the *cause* of a procedure that was disgraceful to both

candour dictates that a man thus universally maligned should be so far heard in his own words, this brief register of the deliberations of the French Government under the date of May 22nd, 1803, is here submitted to the reader:—

“The Government of the Republic having heard read, by the Minister of Marine and Colonies, a dispatch from the Maritime Prefect at Brest, dated this day, announcing that two English frigates had taken two French merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations—

“1. It is prescribed to all commanders of squadrons or naval divisions of the Republic, captains of its ships, and other vessels of war, to chase those of the King of England, as well as those vessels belonging to his subjects, and to attack, capture and conduct them into the ports of the Republic.

Governments in an equal degree.—Vide *History*, vol. ii, pp. 923, 924.

Bonaparte when at St. Helena declared that “there was property to the amount of seventy millions, and he supposed above two hundred ships, detained before he issued the proclamation. But,” he further said, “it is what England has always done. In the war of 1773 you did the same, and you gave as a reason that you had always done so.”—*Napoleon in Exile*, vol. ii, pp. 57, 58.

"2. Commissions will be delivered, in course, to those French privateers for which they are demanded.

"3. All the English from the age of 18 to 60, or holding any commission from his Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be constituted prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the Republic who may have been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty previous to any declaration of war.

"The First Consul,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE." \*

That there was honour, generosity, or forbearance, in this proclamation, no impartial writer will affirm. But were any of these qualities shown on the other side? Did the British any more than the French Government display those virtues in any known degree? On the part of both, the system pursued was as diametrically opposed to their common Christianity as darkness can ever be to light; yet while the difference in the moral guilt of the two is infinitesimally small, there remains unanswered to this day the serious question, who, in this race of evil, was the first wrong-doer? †

\* *Annual Register* for 1803, p. 391.

† Napoleon exhibited a despicable vanity when in the "Act" of Government of February 22nd, referred to in the last chapter,

Once more the world was startled at the enormous preparations for conflict by these two jealous and powerful nations, and the atmosphere soon became heavy with the fires of their mutual revenge. So early as the 8th of March the King had sent down a message to Parliament, asking for an additional 10,000 men for the navy;\* and on the 9th the demand was complied with by both Houses, but not without a powerful appeal by Mr. Fox in the Commons on behalf of

he vauntingly said that "England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France." If this idle bravado did not constitute him "the first wrong-doer," it directly supplied a provocative to national strife, and furnished to the testy orators of the ministry a mighty argument, which they repeatedly employed, in favour of renewing the war. Had the British cabinet of that period possessed leaders of nobler calibre than it did, its members would have treated this puerility with a merited scorn, and have said, "We value the lives of mankind too highly to be provoked into war by the insolent words of a vain and thoughtless man." But unfortunately for the country to all coming time, they were officials of only small capacity, and knew not how to maintain the national dignity but by battlefields and bloodshed. Men of larger minds and loftier principles would have left the boaster to the punishment of their silent contempt.

\* It is by no means improbable that, as a counterpoise to those 10,000 sailors, the French senate on March 25th passed a law placing at the disposal of their Government 120,000 conscripts.

conciliation. And on the 27th of May, a few days after the declaration of war, the same great man submitted a motion in favour of accepting the proffered mediation of Russia.\* The attempt did him honour, but it proved to be "labour in vain." In truth, he had to deal with men of dwarfish conceptions, men whose views rose no higher than the law of a vulgar brute force. Of high and generous principles of government, such as conciliation, forbearance, and confidence in God, they appear never to have had the slightest knowledge. Hence their policy was one that justly laid them open to the fearful charge of Holy Scripture: "*Their feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and misery are in*

\* Mr. Fox's motion stood thus: "That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition manifested by the Emperor of Russia to mediate between this country and the French Government, which mediation might not only lead to the speedy and honourable termination of the present contest, but might conduce to the general tranquillity and safety of Europe." It is almost needless to add that he supported the motion by the most masterly argumentation ever heard in Parliament. But his power was thrown away on men who had hardened themselves against all the appeals that reason could urge in opposition to blind brute force. The plausibility of Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Pitt in reply, was allowed to have more weight than the manly eloquence of Charles James Fox.

*their ways; and the way of peace have they not known.”\**

The war speedily set in with a terrible and fatal earnestness—the rancour of the one party and the ambition of the other giving it a fearful intensity. Great Britain, by far the strongest power at sea, fitted out successful expeditions for the capture of Tobago, Surinam, Demerara, Essequibo, St. Lucia, and Berbice. Great battles were also fought in India, at Assaye, Delhi, Agra, Laswaree, Argaum, and much blood shed at the taking of the fortress of Gawrlghur. The tramp of mighty armies made the very earth tremble, and Civilization blushed at the sufferings inflicted in her name.

On the part of the French there was an equal amount of activity; for so early as May 26th, 1803, General Mortier marched a considerable army into Hanover, and took possession of it with but slight opposition. This was done—to use the words of Bonaparte—“merely for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, and as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeable to the conditions of that treaty.” A conspiracy against the life of

\* Romans iii, 15—17.

Bonaparte in February, 1804, said to have been "formed in London, *with the assent of the British Cabinet*,"\* tended to exasperate his feeling towards the English Government, and to add fuel to the already devouring flames of a mutual national hatred. How far this diabolical scheme renewed that foolish abortion, "the invasion of England," cannot now be ascertained. But one thing it did beyond all doubt, and that was to increase the value of Napoleon's life and person to the whole of the French people. It made him more than ever the idol of that country, and led directly to the proposal of the senate to make him Emperor for life, which title he accepted May 18th, 1804. He was crowned by the Pope of Rome on the 19th of November, at the cathedral church of Notre Dame, in Paris; and the occasion was one of a vast and useless display of the "brilliance" common to such scenes in other countries. In less than two months after his coronation he addressed

\* Mignet's *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 14, p. 378. —Long reports, extending over several pages, are given on the subject of this attempted assassination in the *Annual Register* for 1804, page 616, &c., &c. From a careful perusal of those documents it is clear that the English ministry of that period adopted no means for preventing the murderous plot, of whose existence they could not but have known.

an earnest and temperate letter to the King of England, in which he once more made proposals of peace, and conjured his Majesty "not to deny himself the happiness of giving peace to the world." To this letter a cold diplomatic reply was returned on January 14th, 1805: but it contained no response worthy of a *Christian* sovereign. To speak plainly, the British ministry, though plunging the country into deeper debt and misery, were determined on accepting no overtures from the man whom the French people—whether wisely or unwisely, that was their own sole affair—had made Emperor of France. The restoration of the feeble Bourbons was of far more importance to their prejudiced minds than the peace of the world.

As a consequence of this refusal the war proceeded with renewed vigour on all sides; and while Napoleon prepared for hostilities on the land, England addressed her attention chiefly to hostilities on the water; yet, keeping in view the supposed necessity of checking the French on land, the British ministry succeeded in forming the third coalition against France, April 11th, 1805. The coalesced powers ultimately were Russia, Austria, Sweden, and England, and, as

usual, the hard-working British people had to subsidize those foreign powers to the extent of three millions and a half of money to begin the war with. This coalition gave opportunity to Napoleon to abandon his insane purpose—if, indeed, it was ever more than an empty menace—of invading England. It was at once resigned, and the troops withdrawn to meet a more pressing exigency. On October 20th he broke the power of Austria, by compelling the surrender of General Mack at Ulm, and shortly after took quiet possession of Vienna.

England had entrusted her finest fleet to Lord Nelson, who, on October 21st, encountered the combined squadrons of France and Spain, off Trafalgar.\* That conflict proved one of a most

\* War was declared against England by Spain December 12, 1804; but, as in the case of the French, England had attacked and destroyed some valuable Spanish vessels *before the declaration of war*. The injustice of this transaction—described by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords as an “atrocious act of barbarity”—so much aroused public indignation, that the Ministry deemed it prudent to restore £30,000 to a Spanish captain, whose wife, four daughters and four sons, with the “savings of thirty years’ toil in South America,” were sunk by the guns of the British fleet. May a merciful heaven save the world evermore from the “barbarity” of heroism such as this—*Cabinet History of England*, vol. xxiii, p. 131.

murderous character — a very carnival of death. Horror and destruction were never more supreme, nor has history ever recorded a blacker scene for the terror of mankind. Of the great “hero” of that fight the more thoughtful generations to come must be left to form their own judgment. That he was “courageous,” “brave,” and of singularly inventive genius, none can deny, but truth will compel future historians to record, that beneath the dome of the first Christian church in the world, there are deposited the ashes of a guilty adulterer, whom, nevertheless, even religious men continue greatly to honour.

This Trafalgar “victory” was fully counter-balanced by the total defeat of the “coalition” forces on the dreadful field of Austerlitz, on December 2nd, just six weeks after that victory. Nearly 200,000 men engaged in deadly combat on that tremendous day, and the three Emperors of Austria, Russia, and France were present, and, especially Napoleon, took part in the battle. The result of that heart-sickening struggle cannot be better stated than in the language of the *Annual Register* for 1805, page 177: “The loss sustained on both sides was immense. By killed, wounded, and prisoners, the allied army was

diminished more than a fourth part. Forty standards and the greatest part of their artillery and baggage were taken, and such was the number of wounded left on the field, that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle."

The treaty of Presburg followed on the 26th of December, and thus ended, for a time, the Northern coalition.

[Increased taxation, as usual, characterized the above period. Among other imposts *additional* duties were laid on legacies, postage, salt, horses, profits from trade, professions, &c., and recourse was had, among other things, to *three lotteries* !

In January, 1804, the average price of the quartern loaf was 9½d., in December of the same year it had risen to 1s. 4½d.

The army, including all ranks, amounted to 700,000 men ; and the navy numbered 469 ships of war, to which of armed "small craft" 800 "could speedily be added."

The armed forces of France were estimated at about 651,000 men.

At the close of 1805 the National Debt amounted to within a shade of SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS OF MONEY (£599,869,847).]

## NAPOLEON'S LETTER.

The following is, *in full*, the letter of Napoleon referred to in the preceding chapter :—

*“Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to His Majesty King George III. of England, dated January 2nd, 1803.*

“SIR AND BROTHER,

“Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages ; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world that I fear none of the chances of war ; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear : peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children ; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a

war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate! Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war!—To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil; a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles!—The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances!—Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies!—The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling everything when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

“NAPOLEON.”

The charge upon Bonaparte was that of insincerity in the above letter. But why did not the ministry put him to the test? Would not this course have been infinitely better for humanity and the world, and infinitely more Christian, than the one that was followed, which occasioned the shedding of rivers of human blood? The guilt of insincerity would then have lain at the door of Napoleon; but, by the course pursued, the greater guilt of shedding much innocent blood in war lies to this day at the feet of the government of England, by whom the foregoing appeal was coldly rejected!

## CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS, AND BRITISH EUROPEAN WARS  
FROM THE TREATY OF PRESBURG TO THE  
PEACE PROPOSAL OF ALEXANDER AND NAPO-  
LEON, IN 1808.

HITHERTO no special allusion has been made in this history to the wars in India, although blood had been shed on a large scale by the British troops in that distant part of the world. The French war was not confined to Europe, but as France had settlements in India, the English forces were employed against what was called "the common enemy" there, as well as nearer home. Hyder Ali, who had been warmly supported by the French, died December 7th, 1782, and was succeeded by his son, Tippoo Saib. This Sultan fought hard to preserve his native dominions from the grasp of the British foe; but though aided also by the French, he was overcome and slain at the storming of Seringapatam under Major-General Baird, May 4th, 1799. Of this appalling scene a competent authority gives

the following vivid description : " In seven minutes the fort was taken with dreadful slaughter. Tippoo fell in the heat of the fight, struck by three musket balls, and was finally despatched by an English soldier, whom he had made a cut at whilst trying to tear off his embroidered sword belt. The carnage was fearful. The day after the storm, 10,000 bodies of Tippoo's soldiers were buried. The accumulation of wealth in Seringapatam was immense. For days after soldiers could be seen in the streets betting gold coins on cock-fights! Every officer had a share of jewels, the store of which was enormous. An assistant surgeon, who bought a pair of bangles, or wrist ornaments, from a drummer for 100 rupees (say £10), found them worth between £30,000 and £40,000, and settled upon the drummer an annuity of £100. Tippoo's library of Oriental works was invaluable." \* From that period the dominions of the Sultan were divided, the English receiving a portion which extended their territory from one Indian sea to the other. But in pursuance of the Treaty of Amiens in 1803, Pondicherry, which, with other places, had been taken from the French in 1793, was restored to them, and

\* *British India*, by J. M. Ludlow, vol. i, p. 236.

hostilities ceased with them for a time ; but to the honour of the French commander, he offered his mediation between the warlike parties, and did his utmost, though unsuccessfully, to induce them both to sheath the sword.

Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) arrived in India in the year 1797, and was placed on the Bengal establishment. He remained in that country until February, 1805, when he returned to England, and was afterwards engaged in the great French war against Bonaparte. During his stay in India he took part in a number of battles that contributed to the extension of the military power of England over a people who have never manifested the slightest gratitude for the imposition of a foreign yoke. How far the English people themselves would have displayed more thankfulness under similar circumstances, is a problem yet unsolved. Its solution, however, involves a retributive trial that we fervently hope our beloved country will never be permitted to suffer ; but as it is a great and unchangeable law of Divine Providence, that "with what measure ye mete it shall be measured unto you again," there is solemn reason to fear that our deeds in India may even yet be visited

upon ourselves or our children after us! We obtained India by awful bloodshed; but what would England be if that which we have sown among the Hindoos should some day or other be reaped at home!

As the French power in India may be said to have ended with the recapture of Pondicherry by the British forces in 1803, the subsequent wars in that country are to be regarded as apart from European complications. The prosecution of the Mahratta war—the *bribing* (for such was the true character of the bait)\* of Sindia to oppose his rival, Holkar—the sieges of Delhi and Bhurtpore, with a large number of similar scenes of carnage and bloodshed, which it would be both tedious and unprofitable to relate, are to be put to the common account of the progress of a conquering race towards the subjugation of a mighty continent, containing empires venerable for their extreme antiquity, and whose social system, apart from their superstition, would bear no mean comparison with that of their more powerful victors. Degraded and vicious as the races of India may possibly have been, yet it is evident to the wide universe that they have not been improved, nor

\* *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, British India, vol. ii. p. 228.

are likely to be, by a blood-besmeared Christianity.\*

The Treaty of Presburg having closed, for a time at least, the war between France and Austria, was soon succeeded by another, called the Treaty of Vienna, which, among other things, stipulated that Prussia should occupy Hanover. This was done at the instigation of France; and not long after, an order was issued by the Prussian Government for the exclusion of the British flag from all the German ports under the control of Prussia. This was resented by Great Britain, whose Government having expostulated in vain, at length, in June, 1806,

\* No man in India ever had more power among both princes and people than the devoted missionary, Schwartz. He was trusted and revered by all parties alike. Without sword, pistol, or blunderbuss, "He could penetrate hostile camps, to stay the ravages of famine, to assuage the rigours of war, and all by the simple power of honesty." Of what *Governor-General of India*, or other official connected with war, could the same noble testimony be borne? It is of no use disguising the fact, that our battles and carnage in India have done more to injure Christianity in the eyes of the native races, than any fifty years of earnest missionary labour will be able to repair.

"The blessed name of Schwartz—to whom the Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore bequeathed the guardianship of his infant successor—is surely a brighter ornament to Danish history than the fame of any Clives or Warren Hastings to our own."—*Ludlow's British India, &c.*, vol. i. p. 91.

declared war against Prussia, and proceeded once more to carry the declaration into effect. Bonaparte, on his side, was equally active, and far more successful. The thrones of Europe were disposed of like playthings. He made his son-in-law, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy, and finally Prince of Venice, and heir of the Lombardo-Venetian crown. His brother Joseph he made King of Naples and Sicily; and in the following month he converted his other brother Louis into King of Holland. In the hope of putting a check on the ambition of this extraordinary man, a fourth coalition was in process of formation against him; when, with the celerity for which he was so remarkable, he left Paris in September to take the command of his armed masses, who were already in Germany awaiting his arrival, to lead them on to other fields of blood. The Prussians, having suddenly changed their policy and become his foes, were encountered and defeated on the plain of Jena. Here, engaged in a mutual carnage, were 250,000 men, who, backed by the roar of 700 guns, spread death around on every side. It was a sight sickening to humanity, and disgraceful, utterly disgraceful to the crowned heads, who

hounded on their too compliant forces to the indiscriminate and wide-spread slaughter. Within a fortnight of this scene of bloodshed Bonaparte made his public entry into Berlin, whence, in less than a month (November 21st, 1806) he issued his spiteful "Berlin Decree," which impotently declared Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, and all communications with it were sternly forbidden.

Other fearful battles followed, one only of which requires any description here, and that is the tremendous conflict at Eylau, which is said to have been "one of the most terrible and obstinately contested battles ever fought by Napoleon." He admitted that "on the field of slaughter his feet were immersed in human carnage." For twelve hours the contest raged with unabated fury, and the issue long remained doubtful; but finally the Russians retired from the field, and thus confessed defeat.

Remote as were these scenes of bloodshed, Great Britain was a chief party to the war out of which they sprang. Though none, or but few, of her troops were there, yet she aided the strife, and backed up the fighters. Thus, when Königsberg fell into the hands of the French,

they found there “all the arms and ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including 160,000 musquets that had not been landed.”\* And among the sums voted by Parliament in the years 1806-7, the amount of “Loans and Subsidies” to Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Germany, Russia, and Prussia, was no less than £1,454,929.† The terms of the treaties made with different Continental powers are yet more strong in proof of the complicity of England in the awful battle-fields of Europe. That made with Russia in 1805 contains, in Article 3rd, the following paragraph: His Britannic Majesty “will moreover assist the different powers who shall accede thereto, by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and, in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers in proportion to the exertions they may make to contribute to the common success, it is agreed that these subsidies (barring particular arrangements) shall be furnished in the proportion of

\* Robertson's *George the Third*, vol. ii., p. 995.

† Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, section 4, p. 336.

one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling for each hundred thousand men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereafter specified.”\* From this extract, which is a fair sample of pecuniary stipulations in other treaties, it is plain that “our allies” knew well how to look after the money. What did it matter to them that England was plunging deeper and deeper into debt? So that they were paid for the work of death, it was no concern of theirs if Great Britain sank to the depths of the ocean beneath the weight of national burdens which they stood ever ready to increase.

With conflicts at the Cape of Good Hope, Buenos Ayres, and sea-fights in various parts of the world, it is not necessary to deal. They were inferior parts of a system which filled the earth with terror and alarm, and made thoughtful men often inquire whether barbarism itself could be worse than these dreadful abuses of civil government. Suspicions were more than covertly entertained, that, in the presence of such fearful sufferings as followed in their train, monarchies

\* *Annual Register*, 1806, p. 656.

were not after all the good they pretended to be, and in not a few instances even Christian citizens began to look round for some better mode of governing the world. It was a testing time among the nations, and to this very day it is not forgotten that by far the darkest period of modern history was the one in which *Christian* monarchs were the most free from popular control.

William Pitt died in January, 1806, and a coalition ministry succeeded to power. Of this ministry Mr. Fox became foreign secretary; but in September he, too, closed his earthly career, having held office but a little more than seven months. This period was much too brief to allow the full development of his noble nature, or to afford scope for the display of his earnest attachment to the interests of a European peace. So far as he acted at all, it was evident that official restraints, imposed by the sovereign in one direction, and by that narrow politician, Lord Sidmouth, and his ministerial friends in another, furnished in even a Charles James Fox a humiliating proof of the truth of the sacred maxim that "evil communications corrupt good manners." Far better had he ever stood aloof from men who acknowledged no

public law but that of a low political selfishness. If he failed to fulfil the expectations formed of him when out of office, it is readily explained by the fact that when in office he found himself in very incongenial company.

Bonaparte also became increasingly ambitious and dictatorial. From insisting on a peace with England alone apart from Russia, which, unfortunately, Mr. Fox and the ministry declined, he enlarged his conditions to the adding of Sicily to Naples under his brother Joseph as King. The negotiations lasted over six months, and, to the sorrow of humanity, ended as they began; but with a renewed determination at all hazards to continue the war. How to account for the evident and most lamentable obstinacy of Great Britain in its persistent opposition to all the overtures of peace that had hitherto been made, is an almost impossibility. It would be immensely gratifying to be able to say that it was something nobler and more honourable than a blind and bigoted attachment to the tyrannical Bourbons. On what higher or better principle, however, can the refusal be explained of the following joint *prayer* for peace from the two most powerful sovereigns of *Europe*?

*“Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and Bonaparte, to his Majesty [King of England], dated Erfurth, 12th October, 1808. Received October 21st. Translated from the original French.*

“SIRE,

“The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and the wants of every people, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with your Majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your Majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter. The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce had placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the people of the continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain. We unite in entreating your Majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all interests, and

by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and to ensure the happiness of Europe and of this generation, at the head of which Providence has placed us.

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER.

"NAPOLEON."

The substance of the reply to this pacific appeal, as returned by the British Government through Mr. Secretary Canning, is given in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V.

FROM 1808 TO THE JUBILEE OF THE REIGN OF  
GEORGE III.

THE foregoing letter of the two Emperors was accompanied by two official notes addressed to Mr. Canning—one from Count Romanzoff who acted for Russia, and the other from M. de Cambray who represented France. These notes informed the British Government that the two Emperors had appointed plenipotentiaries to meet the commissioners whom the King of England might authorise to negotiate the *bases* of peace, either at Paris, or at any other convenient place that his Majesty should prefer. These notes were dated, "Erfurth, 12th of October, 1808." The official reply of the British Government was sent from the Foreign Office on October 28th, and stated in substance as follows:—that his Majesty was very earnestly desirous to enter on negotiations for peace, on conditions compatible with the safety of Europe. That engagements with the Kings of Portugal,

Sicily, Sweden, and the Spanish Government, would require that those powers should be consulted upon the subject; and that, in any case, the Government of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. of Spain must be admitted as a party to the united negociation.\*

Russia and France readily conceded the admission to the proposed congress of "the sovereigns in alliance with England," with the sole exception of Spain. On this point they peremptorily refused to yield a single particular; and once more the bigoted and infatuated attachment of England to the *imbecile* Bourbons prevented the peace of the world! *We*, who have come to the heritage of the most frightful national debt in the universe, have a right to ask, And what real benefit did those Bourbons ever confer upon Europe to warrant our fathers thus to anticipate and squander the resources of their unborn posterity? What works of utility, or what proofs of good government, in any part of the world, have they left behind to compensate for the awful bloodshed they occasioned, and the enormous taxation which, through them, successive

\* *Annual Register* for 1808, Appendix, pp. 353-4. *Universal Chronologist*, vol. ii., p. 1130.

generations of the British people have had, and for ages to come, must continue to bear? They were feeble, tyrannical, and oppressive, while they flourished as a ruling race; and now they have gone the way of all the earth, there is not a solitary mortal left in Europe, and probably not in the whole world, to mourn their departure. Yet to these insignificant personages we owe the largest proportion of our huge national debt. Alas for dynasties! when their own follies or crimes have to be met by the taxation of far better men than themselves.

This refusal was all the more distressing, as it actually proved itself to be the *second* within a very brief period. Early in 1807, Austria offered to become the mediator on behalf of peace; but the proposal of that friendly power proved of no avail. As in other cases, the King of England was made to say, "that such a peace is only to be obtained by a general negociation on the part of all the powers engaged in the present war." This implied that England—mighty England—dared not act for herself. "All the powers," to those even that nearly lived upon her subsidies, had to be consulted before she could consent to listen to the voice of humanity and mercy. A

sight more afflictive was never presented to an astonished world; and it amounted to this, that England would agree to a peace, but that her pauper clients withheld their permission.

But war not only impoverishes, for it equally blunts and hardens the national sensibility, and gradually creates an indifference to the most obvious dictates of reason and common humanity. On no other ground can we explain the disgraceful and wanton attack on Copenhagen by the British forces under Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, in the previous year. The Danes had a considerable fleet, and the *offence* pleaded in both Houses of Parliament was, that it *might* possibly fall into the hands of Bonaparte, although nothing whatever existed to give colour to this unworthy suspicion. Hence, without any declaration of war, and with the utmost secrecy, a British fleet of 27 sail of the line, with other vessels, amounting in all to nearly 90 pendants, and consisting of 20,000 men, suddenly entered the Sound to enforce the demand for the surrender of the Danish fleet to "be held as a deposit for his Danish Majesty."\* Naturally enough, this most unwarrantable demand was refused: upon which, in a few days

\* *Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 257—262.

after, the British forces "opened a tremendous fire upon the town," which, in a very short time involved it in a general conflagration. "Four hundred houses were destroyed, and the venerable edifice of Frederic Kirk was laid in ruins."\* Did not this unprovoked bombardment merit the sternest execration? But will it be believed that votes of thanks to the Admiral, the General, and the officers employed in the attack, were passed in both Houses of Parliament by large majorities? After such a deed it is next to an impossibility to deny that there is any act of atrocity which the spirit of war will not sanction.

On the refusal of the appeal for peace by the Emperors of Russia and France, the war proceeded with increased vigour, and with a renewed national hate that became at times absolutely furious. Napoleon, smarting under a sense of humiliation at the continued obstinacy of England in prolonging the war, began now to indulge in a spirit of revenge that made him subsequently the terror of the civilised world. His ambition gradually expanded into the boundless; and the spite that had been aroused in that dark breast, principally by British opposition, swelled out into a

\* Robertson's *George the Third*, vol. ii. p. 1007.

master passion that finally rendered him indifferent altogether to the choice of means for the gratification of his wounded pride. But was he alone to blame for all that followed? A man provoked to revenge owes much of his guilt to those who have provoked him; and it should never be forgotten that when on various occasions Napoleon sued for peace, England remained determined on war. As a consequence, the successful soldier was transformed into the demon. But with whom lay the guilt of this odious transformation?

Spain having declared war against France, and implored the aid of England, a British force, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, was sent out to their assistance and that of the Portuguese. The army landed in July, and then began the Peninsular war, as far as the British troops were concerned. Sir Arthur, after several battles and skirmishes, returned to England, and the command devolved on Sir John Moore, than whom, as a soldier, a nobler man never lived. But his campaign proved unfortunate; and to save his little army from destruction or defeat, he retreated upon Corunna, where he lost his life. During this retreat, "whole regiments, defying the orders and efforts of their officers, abandoned the ranks,

rushed into towns and villages, plundered the cellars and farmhouses, outraged the families, and drank to such an excess that their minds and bodies became equally powerless." General Stewart also states, that "the cry of plunder and vengeance was more attended to than the word of command. Villages and houses were seen burning in all directions."\* And these deeds of horror were perpetrated by men in the British pay!—by men, moreover, who had been despatched to aid and befriend the very people whom they robbed and outraged! Afflicted humanity indignantly inquires, how long shall a Christian land like ours continue to support and pamper this common curse of the world?

The French continued the war in Spain, and fearful battles ensued at Ferrol, Saragossa, Vals, Oporto, and other places. In April, 1809, war was declared by the Austrians against the French, and in a few days after, the *fifth* continental coalition against Napoleon began to be formed. He at once encountered the enemy, and after much bloodshed, captured Vienna, and laid a great part of Austria at his feet. Then followed the terrible battle at Wagram, near Vienna, in which

\* *The British Soldier*, pp. 109—113 (note).

III. commenced the fiftieth year of his reign, and the event was celebrated by a jubilee throughout the kingdom. We may be excused from attempting any description of the scenes that the occasion produced, partly on account of their temporary character, but chiefly because there are more weighty and important particulars claiming our regard. Fifty years in the reign of any king would constitute a distinctly marked era in a nation's history under very ordinary circumstances. But during the long period from 1760, when the third George began his reign, to the year of his jubilee in 1809, events of unusual magnitude transpired, whose consequences are felt to this day, and probably will continue to be felt to very distant generations. Valuable lessons, therefore, may be gathered from an impartial examination of the main outlines of that important period.

1. *The period was one of reckless war and appalling bloodshed.* It may be described, with but slight fear of contradiction, as an age of battles—a wild era of press-gangs, conscripts, recruits, and soldiering. Europe in general, and our own country in particular, knew next to nothing of actual repose. War was in everybody's mouth,

for it fired the orator, *adorned* the pulpit, pervaded the literature of the day, and eventually corrupted the already low language of the streets. Its advocate was venerated as the patriot, and received large praise from the fairest lips of every circle; but its opponent earned the disgrace and name of *Jacobin*, and was doomed to be shunned in whatever company he ventured to show his face. It supplied the pass-word to the court, the senate, and the drawing-room; but he who failed to utter the popular *Shibboleth*, became the object of general ridicule or contempt. The period was born amidst the gloom of a French war, which was speedily succeeded by the American war, and the loss of the colonies; this was followed by the war with *Republican* France, and the fifty years closed in the midst of the war against Bonaparte. The sacrifice of human life was absolutely frightful; and the age richly merits to be called *an age of blood*, or in a word, such an age as it will be a special mercy to mankind for the world never to see again.\*

2. *It was a period of blind and bigoted*

\* The loss of life among the contending parties generally could not have been fewer than *two millions* of men, and these mainly in the prime of their days.

*attachment to a corrupt and mischievous legitimacy.* George III. and his different ministries never acknowledged the possibility of a better government for France than that of the Bourbons. In their confined idea of prerogative they appeared to think that there could be no safety for Europe apart from the restoration of a race whose one solitary virtue was a right royal selfishness. For that ignoble house, the King of England and his foreign allies deluged the continent with blood; and inferring what they would have done from all they actually did, it is scarcely an exaggeration to state that they would have sacrificed every European throne, rather than concede to the French people the liberty of choosing their own form of government.

3. *It was a period remarkable for the absence of great moral principles, as principles of civil government.* It possessed but one leading idea, and that was the grovelling one of a perpetual appeal to the sword on all questions of national dispute. Every moral or rational principle, that might have been applied with great ease to the successive misunderstandings about which the rulers preferred to quarrel, was spurned with a contemptuous disdain. Even the noble repre-

sentative principle found small favour in that degenerate age, or there had been no American war, with the loss of the colonies, and some 300,000 precious human lives. It believed in force—blind brute force—and in little or nothing besides. Conciliation, reason, mercy, and faith in God, were strange matters in the palaces of that period. It was an age of Pagan idolatry of war, and few things would have conferred greater honour upon the warlike governments who united in that worship, than to have renounced wholly the Christian name.

4. *It was an age of criminal indifference to the rights and resources of posterity.* The politicians of that period obliged a too-passive people to squander upon fruitless wars, not their own means alone, but those also of their unborn posterity. With a prodigality absolutely lavish, they incurred enormous debts, and then coolly handed them over to the shoulders of their injured children. By this questionable process the resources of those children were appropriated beforehand to meet the liabilities of their extravagant fathers, who never once inquired into their own *right* to tax the industry of their helpless offspring. It was a course of conduct both cruel

and thoughtless, and a rigid impartiality must ever brand the transaction that doomed the innocent children to bear the burdens of a guilty ancestry as unfair, unfeeling, and inexpressibly mean. When George III. ascended the throne in 1760, the national debt stood at £102,014,018; but in the year of his jubilee it had swelled to £654,461,311; being a total increase of £552,447,293, which represents an *annual* average increase of £11,048,945 throughout the entire fifty years of this single reign!\* In the interests of universal justice it is perfectly proper to ask, "Is there common honesty in imposing debts upon those who never contracted them?" Or, in other words, "Is there not an evident immorality in national debts?" †

\* *British Almanac* for 1860, *Companion*, pp. 137, 139.

#### † THE NATIONAL DEBT.

This great question awaits a *thorough* examination from some competent hand, if but to expose the accepted fallacies that have so long been allowed to gather around it. Even Lord Macaulay (*History*, chap. 19), favours the absurdity that debt and prosperity travel together; but he cautiously avoids the assumption that fathers have a *right* to tax the industry of their children. He, with a host of smaller men, such as Lord Monboddo and others, overlooks two essential points. 1st. *That a permanent national debt is an evidence of permanent poverty, or a sign of national disgrace.* The morality of debt, whether in an individual or a

nation, is precisely the same, and in both cases alike one of two alternatives must determine the existing character of the contract. The parties either *cannot* or *will not* pay the debt. If they *cannot*, then they are poor; but if they *will not*, then they are not honest. Let the advocates of national debt select which they prefer of these alternatives, as their plea on behalf of their client, and then inform us whether Great Britain is too poor in money, or too weak in honest virtue, to release posterity from an unjust demand. The answer may also help us to understand Mr. Disraeli's not very classical or elegant "flea-bite." If the national debt be such a "flea-bite," why not crush the insect and remove the "bite"? Will Mr. Disraeli, or any other financier, even dare the attempt?—Lord Macaulay also overlooks another great particular, which is, 2nd., *That the increased taxation required to meet the interest of the national debt, is so much capital abstracted annually from industry, and consequently from those who can least afford to suffer the loss.* Stripped of all technicalities, this extra taxation is the annual transfer of industrial profit from the labour market to the money market; from those who *create* wealth, to those whom fickle fortune has enabled to *possess* it. The naked truth is, that A, the producer, passes over to B, the mere possessor, a considerable proportion of his yearly gains, which B can, if he so pleases, "invest in the public funds." A national debt thus becomes a positive boon to B, by providing a "safe investment" for his spare capital; but to secure that investment, A, and all his class of hard workers, have to contribute largely of their honest profits, which, if left to their own disposal, would circulate in a thousand ways to the improvement of society down to the humblest tillers of the soil. Spare capital is thus abstracted from the class A, to their great impoverishment, and is transferred *by law*—the law of taxation—to the smaller and less useful class B; thus the one class becomes poor just in the proportion that the other grows rich. But it should never be forgotten that mere money in the hands of a comparative few is

no criterion, *per se*, of a nation's solid welfare, for there may be a hoard of wealth in the very presence of a starving labour market. Hence a yearly taxation of some £26,000,000, as interest of a huge national debt, drawn chiefly, as it ever must be, from the national industry, may leave the ploughman a positive pauper, while it feeds up to luxury itself the haughty capitalist. Political smatterers may cavil as they please, but they can never disprove the safe and healthy rule, *that the condition of the labour market, and not mere wealth, is the true criterion of a nation's prosperity.* To our honour as a toiling, hard-working people, we have long and punctually paid the national creditor, but it will be infinitely better for the industry of the whole Empire when we have no national creditor to pay.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FROM THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, AND CLOSE OF THE FRENCH WAR.

A MORE unfortunate expedition never sailed from the British shores than the one that was intended to act against the French in Holland, and more particularly on the Scheldt. It consisted of 10,000 troops, supported by 39 sail of the line, besides 36 frigates, and numerous gun-boats, bombs, and small craft. The whole number of men which it employed amounted to about 100,000; and when it departed from the Downs on 1 July, 1809, it was cheered by the huzzas of an excited multitude of all ranks, who almost rent the air with their bombastic acclamations of the unparalleled glory which this formidable armament was to bring to the English name.

But alas for the pride of poor inflated humanity! This mighty force, having captured Walcheren and Flushing, but not venturing near Antwerp itself, and having suffered from

a malignant distemper, that at one period carried off "from two to three hundred a week," returned without laurels, and was received without a breath of praise. So ended an expedition which "cost twenty millions sterling, imposing a burthen of one million of annual taxes."\* Poor Lord Chatham, its commander-in-chief, became the victim of a general contempt; and in the language of the Hon. J. W. Ward, in the Commons, "Whether we consider the plan, the object, or the person to whom the execution of it was entrusted, our history does not afford an example of anything so disgraceful and so absurd." It is not too much to say of this huge failure that it proved to be both the nation's shame and the laughing-stock of Europe.

Yet in the face of this obvious disaster, his Majesty, on opening Parliament in January, 1810, congratulated the country on the advantages gained in the prosecution of the war by the destruction of the forts and arsenals of Flushing. Very small comfort must this have proved, when Napoleon, with the merciless resentment common to warriors of all nations and in every age, proceeded to the confiscation of all English

\* *Annual Register* for 1810, pp. 14, 15.

property in Brabant, "to make good the damages sustained by him at that place;" and referring to the haughty scorn with which Bonaparte treated the futile expedition at large, Mr. Whitbread openly declared in the House of Commons that "the mighty lion which we went to attack brushed us off with one sweep of his tail."\* How far a fear of honest exposure prevailed with the Government in excluding strangers from the gallery of the Commons during the inquiry

\* Yet even a Napoleon could be generous when the lower passions of his nature were not aroused by a foolish or a wicked opposition. A fire broke out in the town of Auxone, where a number of English prisoners had been confined. With a true British spirit they exerted themselves nobly to arrest the progress of the conflagration, some of whom received injuries in consequence of their bravery. The particulars having been reported to Napoleon, he sent the following order to his war minister, the Duke of Feltre: "The minister of war will express to them my satisfaction; will order them to be paid a reward amounting to six months' pay, and will send them to their own country, under their promise not to serve until they are exchanged."  
"NAPOLEON."

These prisoners were twenty-one in number.

Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart., also reported that the French fleet at Toulon refrained from attacking "a weak British squadron, although by so doing they must have taken two British frigates." This noble forbearance gave the English Admiral "peculiar pleasure."—*Vide Annual Register* for 1810, p. 267.

into this Walcheren expedition, cannot now be determined; but their exclusion produced the powerful protest of Sir Francis Burdett in a letter to his Westminster constituents, which afterwards led to his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and to the alarming riots occasioned by that arbitrary act. From beginning to end the expedition turned out to be both a blunder and a disgrace; and there is strong reason for believing that the unhappy duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, in which the latter was wounded, owed its existence to this Walcheren folly. The Lord Mayor, aldermen and liverymen of the city of London, at a meeting held in the Guildhall, condemned the expedition, and the extravagance of the Government generally, in very severe terms, and further instructed the city members to move for a "rigid inquiry" into conduct by which "the blood and treasure of the country had been shamefully sacrificed." A very large county meeting of the freeholders of Berkshire adopted a similar resolution, and reminded his Majesty of "the enormous burdens imposed upon the people for supporting the war," which they described as "oppressive beyond all example." A court of Common Coun-

oil of London also petitioned Parliament "against granting a pension to Lord Wellington for his services;" and throughout the country at large the warlike extravagance of the Government created a deep and dangerous dissatisfaction.

But the war proceeded notwithstanding, especially in Spain and Portugal. During the winter of 1809, the French armies had received large reinforcements, and Marshal Massena was appointed to command the one intended for the conquest of Portugal. After taking possession of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he encountered Lord Wellington's army at Busaco, but without effecting anything decisive. Lord Wellington, who had under his command about 60,000 regular troops, immediately retired within the lines at Torres Vedras, and for some months about 130,000 men did little else than watch each other's movements. The French found large quantities of ordnance and military stores in various Spanish towns, which the taxation of England had supplied to aid the Spaniards; yet, beyond a *feint* against Badajos, and the commencement of the seige of Cadiz, which lasted thirty months, and even then was abandoned, little was done in the way of actual conflict.

In England, however, the prolongation of the war produced consequences that began to be positively dangerous. Throughout the months of June, July, and August, 1810, the quartern loaf reached the almost famine price of 1s. 5d., and its average cost for the whole year was 1s. 3¼d. Serious riots broke out in Nottinghamshire and other counties on account of the deep distress among the poor; and so threatening became the aspect of things, that the Legislature deemed it expedient to appoint a committee consisting of twenty-one members, most distinguished for their acquaintance with commercial affairs, who were instructed to report, at an early period, upon the measures that should be adopted in a crisis so imminent. On March 11th, 1811, their report came before the Commons, when all they did was to propose a loan of £6,000,000 to be advanced on security, in aid of such merchants as might be in a condition of temporary embarrassment. The applications for these advances were, however, but comparatively few, and, as the result, "the commercial distresses continued to increase during the year, and displayed themselves by frightful lists of bankrupts in every *Gazette*, amounting to an aggregate of which no former

year in the annals of the country afforded a parallel.\* But, plainly, the proposed remedy was too superficial. The country did not want *loans*, but *peace*. Trade was everywhere disturbed, and in many directions deeply imperilled; and the true remedy was not the supply of a sickly stimulant in borrowed money, but by closing the war. This, however, the counsellors of that period had not the sagacity, or the good sense to see. Yet, in the midst of this wide-spread distress, Parliament voted away the public money in subsidies—to Portugal £980,000, and to his Sicilian Majesty £400,000. The rule of the Government might have been that of “*reputation abroad, though the people starve at home.*”

During the years 1810 and 1811, Napoleon may be said to have reached the zenith of his political influence, and from that period he began to sink. His empire extended from the frontiers of Denmark to those of Naples, and he had under his sway the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, with other German princes; while Prussia and Austria lived on the sufferance of his mighty power. But now commenced his downfall in the seizure of the

\* *History of George the Third*, vol. ii., p. 1071.

Duchy of Oldenburgh, in order to complete his iniquitous "continental system" against England, which, with numerous other proofs of his towering ambition, gave umbrage to Alexander of Russia. A coolness ensued between these two great potentates, which rapidly grew into an absolute dislike, and which found issue shortly after in the signally disastrous "Russian Campaign," and the final ruin of Napoleon. His oldest and wisest counsellors remonstrated with him on the impolicy, if not the injustice, of that aggression; but all in vain. "With 800,000 men I can oblige all Europe to do my bidding," was his haughty reply, and in the face of both reason and common humanity, he set about the vain and wicked attempt. He boasted that his "destiny" was not yet fulfilled; but had he not been blind to the most obvious signs of that destiny, he might have read the handwriting upon the wall, "*Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.*" On the loftiest pinnacle of his greatness he but displayed the truth of Holy Writ, "*Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.*" His whole public life, however, demands a careful and a candid review, but this must be reserved for another chapter.

In the peninsula the war continued, while in other quarters it spread more widely, to the sorrow of the nation. At the instigation of Napoleon, Sweden declared war against England in November, 1810. Complications with the United States also assumed a portentous aspect, and finally led to a declaration of war on June 18th, 1812. In Spain, the war fluctuated between success in one direction and failure in another; but on the whole the French forces suffered the most frequent defeats, and finally were driven from both Spain and Portugal. But the destruction of life, and the crimes committed by a brutal soldiery, were perfectly appalling, and to this day the storming of Badajos by the British is remembered for the atrocities committed there in the sacred name of liberty. Whoever reads that black historic chapter must blush for the deeds of men who wore the British uniform, and who were in daily receipt of British pay.\*

In 1812, however, the darkness of Europe doubled in depth, and in all the prognostics of a mighty convulsion; for this was the fatal year

\*. . . "And thus reigned horror and dreadful carnage for several days in succession. The after scene was indeed 'hell broke loose.'"—Col. Napier on the Storming of Badajos.

of Napoleon's reckless invasion of Russia. Yet, even then, amidst the gloom that preceded the terrible collision of the forces, a solitary ray of light broke forth from amidst the angry elements. Whether from some felt necessity, or mere policy, or a sincere desire for peace with England, we can by no means decide; but from one motive or another, Napoleon made pacific overtures once more to the British ministry. This was done in April, three months before he declared war against Russia. It is not our province, were it even in our power, to define his purpose in this procedure; but whether his object were good or bad, one thing is most evident, that it placed in the hands of the English cabinet a fine opportunity of interposing its good offices on behalf of a European peace, and for preventing altogether the crimes and torrent-bloodshed of the revolting Russian campaign. For what did it signify, in the presence of a groaning continent, and an almost famishing peasantry at home, that the condition imposed was that of recognising the Corsican dynasty in Spain? Fifty years and more have passed since this proposal was made; and not to dilate upon the sufferings that marked the Russian campaign, which our rulers made not

the slightest effort to prevent, even though the grandest opportunity was afforded them, not a solitary proof has yet been given that the Bourbon government in Spain, which we fought like savages to restore, has tended in any degree whatever to the elevation, improvement, or liberty of that fine race. But the British ministry rejected the proposal, and once more did their full wont to deluge the continent with human blood.

And this was not all ; for though, during three months of that year, bread was 1s. 8d., and in one month 1s. 9½d., the quartern loaf, yet the ministry voted in loans and subsidies to "our allies" no less a sum than £3,908,521.\* As a too common consequence the national income failed to meet the expenditure, and another loan was contracted, amounting to £15,650,000. To one who looks back upon that period with anything approaching to impartiality, the conduct of the ministry wears far more the appearance of political madness than a watchful care over the true welfare of the people. For so general was the distress of the commercial and manufacturing classes, that Lord Liverpool, who had become

\* *Porter's Progress*, section iv, p. 337.

prime minister on the untimely death of Mr. Perceval, was under the necessity of repealing the orders in council, which, by interfering with the neutral commerce of the United States, had also considerably embarrassed the commerce of Great Britain. But who, at this distant period, can even imagine the poverty and sufferings of the great body of the people when their chief staff of life, the quartern loaf, stood at 20d.? Yet, with this starvation among the masses, the ministry continued to repel peace, and to borrow money! How much of thankfulness posterity can entertain for their memory, the future alone can disclose. They were a generation of BORROWERS; but the debts they contracted remain for their helpless children to pay.

By refusing to listen to the pacific overtures of Napoleon, Great Britain lost the only opportunity of preventing the most fearful scene of carnage that ever took place, probably, in the history of our planet. Certainly, a more gigantic spectacle of human wickedness was never presented to an astonished universe than that of the Russian campaign, and no lustre ever gained by British heroism could, by the remotest possibility, have equalled the honour of having attempted to dis-

suade the European powers from a purpose so utterly disgraceful. But to the grief of the world the ministry of that period evinced no ambition for laurels, except such as had been dipped in human blood.

On May 25, 1812, Bonaparte left Paris for Dresden ; and on the 22nd of June following he declared war against Russia, and proceeded shortly after to place himself at the head of an army of some 470,000 men, which constituted the Russian expedition. From the first of these dates onward to July 15, 1815, when he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, on board the *Bellerophon*, may be marked the period of the actual "decline and fall" of the great Napoleon ; and it stands out as a period of the blackest ferocity that national wickedness ever presented as a warning to mankind. It is very credibly stated that, in the Russian campaign, there were sacrificed 500,000 men in about 173 days.\* In 1813 alone, the conscripts raised in France were—January, 250,000

\* "*Labaum's Narrative of the Campaign in Russia*," being the testimony of an eye-witness, is the most reliable history of that fearful expedition ; and the substance of it is given in No. 5 of the standard tracts of the London Peace Society. That excellent tract deserves to be far better known.

—April, 180,000—October, 280,000—and in November, 300,000 : total in that single year, ONE MILLION AND TEN THOUSAND men ! It is questionable whether the best blessings that civil government can ever confer will compensate mankind for this ferocious destruction of human life. At no distant day it will be demanded of rulers, by what *right* they inflict these terrible miseries upon the world ?

With the defeat of Napoleon in a succession of mighty battles, his abdication, exile at Elba, return, final overthrow at Waterloo, and surrender to the British, the space allotted to this history will not permit us to deal. They were the closing scenes of a war which has no parallel in human history for political mismanagement, reckless extravagance of both blood and treasure, and of a widespread wickedness that struck corruption down to the very roots of society in every form of trifling with the sacred life of man. Religion, reason, and virtue, wither in the presence of this demoniac of the tombs, and, retiring to weep in secret over calamities that fill the universe with “mourning, lamentation, and woe,” behold in all directions as the sole legacy of this first-born from the bottomless pit—widows, orphans, oppressive


taxation, and disgraceful debt. Great Britain commenced her share in this guilty career with a national debt of *One Hundred Millions* of money—and she ended it in 1815 with that debt increased to *Eight Hundred and Sixty-one Millions*. Such is the honour bequeathed by the great French war to the tax-worn, toil-worn, care-worn children of Great Britain ! \*

\* The amount of "Loans and Subsidies" to "our allies, granted in these fearful years, 1813, 1814, and 1815, was £15,228,600 ;—the total amount, from 1793 to 1815, being £46,289,459. It should not be forgotten that this money was sent out of the country when, on frequent occasions, the working people of England actually wanted bread !

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE GREAT FRENCH WAR—A REVIEW, AND A COMMENT.

WITH the battle of Waterloo the great French drama may be said to have closed, at least for that generation. But it would be a signal defect in any "British War History," were so eventful a period allowed to pass away without such an investigation into its merits as will qualify the British public to pronounce an honest verdict upon the conduct of those who took a leading part in that momentous conflict. This verdict remains yet to be delivered, for the deceptive spirit that imposed upon the European populations while the scene was enacting, busied itself for years after the curtain had fallen to mislead the people of Great Britain, so that they continued to praise or admire where the sternest censure would have been more appropriate; and thus, by a too ready acquiescence in the common delusions, they consented to "glory in their shame." With slight



exceptions, the historians of that period, truckling to the paltry fashion of the day, have largely assisted to perpetuate the imposition, and to prolong the almost universal fallacy that war with the French, first with the Republic and afterwards with the Empire, was a necessity which Great Britain could not avoid. As this false impression implies, for all practical purposes, an approval of the appalling bloodshed, taxation, and debt, which that calamity occasioned; a brief review of the principal events of the entire period, and some not inappropriate comments upon those events, are now submitted to the consideration of the readers of this history.

1. *The origin of the French Revolution.* It is of much consequence to understand perfectly, that the French Revolution sprang from internal national causes which affected the French people alone. It was the inevitable result of a long-continued struggle between arbitrary power on the one side, and popular liberty on the other;—between privileged classes who studied but their own selfish ends, and a great nation whose rapidly increasing intelligence taught its people to abhor the selfishness by which they were oppressed and robbed. Lamartine carries back the remote cause

of the revolution to the discovery of printing.\* Mignet, after recounting a number of events that terminated with the retirement of the popular minister Necker, in 1782, says: "The revolution dates from this epoch; the abandonment of reforms and the return of disorders hastened its approach and augmented its fury."† Sir James Macintosh, coming down nearer to the event itself, gives May 5, 1789, as the day of its birth, and says of that day that it "will probably be accounted by posterity one of the most memorable in the annals of the human race. . . . In the long catalogue of calamities and crimes which blacken human annals, the year 1789 presents one spot on which the eye of humanity may with complacency dwell."‡ Sir James is followed by L. R. De Vericour, who gives the same year, and who adds that then was "traced and promulgated this first declaration of the rights of man, which opened for France and Europe a new era."§ But

\* ". . . The French Revolution came into existence on the same day with the discovery of printing."—*History of the Constituent Assembly*, vol. i., pp. 11, 12.

† *Mignet's History of the French Revolution*, p. 12

‡ *Reply to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, pp. 38, 125.

§ *Historical Analysis of Christian Civilisation*, p. 430.

whether the revolution began more remotely, or in some one later year, it is demonstrable that it was a mighty effort to reduce the power of those privileged classes whose accumulated corruptions, daring selfishness, and wanton pride, had doomed nearly thirty millions of the human race to a condition of civil and religious slavery, that made life a scene of prolonged misery, and afforded no relief to man but in the grave. "The three Aristocracies," says Sir James Macintosh, "Military, Sacerdotal, and Judicial, may be considered as having formed the French Government. They have appeared, so far as we have considered them, incorrigible. All attempts to improve them would have been little better than 'mean reparations on mighty ruins.'" From the testimony of these witnesses, to which many others might be added did space permit, it is evident beyond all question that the French Revolution was an internal national struggle with which other governments had nothing whatever to do.

2. *The French Revolution was a political change which in no way menaced, or endangered, Great Britain.* The very isolation of these islands constituted our chief safety, even supposing that the revolution had involved peril to any of the

continental states. Nor was danger ever the stated cause for interference by England, for in truth there was no such cause to plead. Hence, when the rulers of Europe met at Mantua, on May 20th, 1791, to form a warlike coalition against France, it was distinctly specified that "the King of England was to take part in it as *Elector of Hanover*." On that mischievous occasion the plotters never urged that England was in any danger whatever, but that its monarch should join this crusade against French liberty in his sole capacity of Elector.\* To quote the words of Lamartine, "England had no pretext for war," and had it not been for the unfortunate circumstance that George III. was also the head of Hanover, in all probability England would never have touched the French war at all.†

\* *Mignet's History*, p. 101.—On looking back upon the awful scenes of which the above coalition was the monster cause, one cannot help regretting that our ruler should have been anything else than King of England. It would have been a blessing to mankind at large had George III. given away the Electorate of Hanover, with a pension of £10,000 a year to boot, to any needy German prince who would have accepted the honour! England would then have been left to "mind her own business," and to make her own subjects happy.

† *History of the Constituent Assembly*, vol. iv., p. 327, &c.

The French Revolution, while it deeply affected the framework of the French Government, yet increased, rather than lessened, the national desire for peace with Great Britain. This was evident from the letter of Louis XVI. to the King of England, which was sent early in 1792, and not long after the revolution had taken place. In that letter the King of France implored his Majesty to continue the friendly relations between the two countries, and he closed his pacific and earnest appeal by remarking that "our union ought to *command peace to Europe.*" As this letter produced no corresponding reply, M. Chauvelin was instructed by the King of France to beseech his Britannic Majesty "to interpose, and, by his wisdom and influence, to avert, while it is still time, the progress of the confederacy formed against France, and which threatened the peace, the liberty, and the happiness of Europe." After a silence of twenty days' duration, a reply was returned, which for cold evasiveness has never been surpassed since arbitrary power was first permitted to trifle with the peace of mankind. From this entire correspondence it is undeniable that the French Government made the most

honourable overtures to Great Britain in order to avoid war.\*

3. *The assistance rendered by England to the continental coalition against France, proved, by consequence, the principal cause of the French war, and made the British Government the party most responsible for the unparalleled miseries which that war occasioned.* The chief governments of Europe, having terminated their several disputes at the close of 1791, were left free in 1792 to turn their combined hostility against the "common foe," as the continental despots were now pleased to designate the French Revolution. They lost no time in following out their aggressive purpose, to make war upon it with a united force of 100,000 men, who were to be supplied by Austria, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Sardinia, Prussia, and the King of England as *Electeur of Hanover*. In the short space of about six months, Pitt, then a young man, concluded seven alliances and *six treaties of subsidies*, having obtained for this purpose a parliamentary grant of £3,200,000, the largest proportions of which went to Austria and Prussia. "England thus became the soul of the

\* *History of George the Third*, vol. ii., p. 621.

coalition.”\* Without her money the very poverty of the other powers would, in all probability, have destroyed the coalition in twelve months. But, as Mignet writes, the British Cabinet “desired at any cost to effect the consolidation of the aristocratical power at home, and the exclusive empire in the two Indies, and on the seas.” Add to this the extreme anxiety of England to avenge American Independence, which France had assisted to accomplish, and to preserve every form of *class privilege* at home from the contagion of the French Revolution, and we have then a complete key to the otherwise mysterious affection of this country for a coalition that scarcely screened its determination to crush the constitutional liberties of the world!

But for that coalition, France, left to her own statesmen—and they were able men—would have adjusted her reforms to her own necessities, without any foreign interference whatever; just as England herself had done under Oliver Cromwell. For the French Revolution, though a mighty internal change, never included or intended the abolition of royalty. That startling experiment was due exclusively to the

\* *Mignet's French Revolution*, p. 196.

unwarrantable hostility of the coalesced European Powers, whose one purpose was to preserve the "Divine right" to rule the millions of mankind on arbitrary and irresponsible principles. To this form of government the French people would no longer submit, having for ages groaned under the slavery which it produced. Hence, when the coalition encouraged and assisted Louis to defy the constitutional restraints with which the revolution had very properly surrounded a despotic throne, then the idea of the abolition of royalty as the only remedy for their manifold wrongs first entered the French national mind. According to Lamartine, whose testimony few will have the temerity to question, the revolution had but two main objects, which were these:—First, to teach the civil equality of French citizens around a constitutional throne; and, second, the complete liberty of the human mind with regard to creed and worship. Even Robespierre himself openly declared his attachment to a representative monarchy.\* Consequently, what are usually called the *atrocities* of the French Revolution, and which, to this very day, are ignorantly asserted to have

\* *History of the Constituent Assembly*, vol. iv., p. 64; and vol. iii., p. 190.

been the cause of European interference, were wholly unknown until nearly two years *after* the formation of the armed league against France; and it is evident that they were the guilty fruits of a national revenge which that very league had provoked. As already stated, the coalition was resolved upon at Mantua, May 20th, 1791, but the death of Louis XVI. did not occur until January 21st, 1793. The coalition encouraged Louis to break the solemn oath he had taken in the presence of a million of his subjects to abide by the constitution and the laws;\* and the people, maddened into revenge by his duplicity, proceeded to the unjustifiable punishment of taking away his life. "All attempts," says Robertson, "to vindicate the sincerity of the King of France, or the reality of his attachment to the constitution,

\* This vast meeting was held on the Champ de Mars; and before this huge assembly, on July 14th, 1790, "with the accent of sincerity of and conviction," Louis XVI. took the following oath: "I, King of the French, mean to employ all the power which is confided to me by the constitutional law, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me, and to promote the execution of the laws." The Queen also voluntarily expressed the assent of her son, the Dauphin, to the same great obligation.—*History of the Constituent Assembly*, vol. iv., pp. 105, 108, 109.

are an insult to common sense; he finally fell the victim of his own wretched dissimulation." De Vericour confirms this heavy charge when he asserts that the unfortunate Louis XVI., virtuous and moral, was surrounded by a corrupt court; his weakness made him yield to the unprincipled influences that surrounded him, and he allowed himself to be made the head of a vast treason against France. The kings of Europe were preparing for war, and the French court conspired with them."\* In the House of Commons this "vast treason against France" was eloquently and powerfully denounced by Mr. Fox, who commenced his impressive speech by remarking that, "from the moment ministers knew that a league was formed against France, this country ought to have interfered. France had justice completely on her side, and we, by a prudent negociation with the other powers, might have prevented the horrid scenes which were afterwards exhibited, and saved, too, the necessity of being reduced to our present situation. We should have held out to Europe a lesson of moderation, of justice, and of dignity, worthy of a great

\* *History of George the Third*, vol. ii., pp. 602, 603; *Analysis*, p. 431.

empire ; this was the conduct which ought to have been adopted, and which ministers had neglected." \* With whom, then, it may be asked, rests the responsibility of that criminal neglect ? That neglect permitted, if it did not directly invite, the torrent bloodshed that followed ; but at whose door must that enormous guilt continue to lie ? Evidently the entire history proves that it was not France that made war upon England and Europe, but that England and Europe made war upon France. †

\* *Annual Register* for 1793, pp. 18, 19.

† Excepting the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the coalition forces on their first entrance into France, which, says Robertson, "breathed the language of cannibals," nothing more peremptory was ever addressed to the representative of a great nation than the following order to M. Chauvelin commanding his departure from Great Britain. It is given here to show the haughty spirit of that disastrous period.

"*Letter from Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, January 24th, 1793.*

"I am charged to notify to you, sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most Christian Majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

"The King can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order that you

4. *The French war, prolonged chiefly by England, produced Napoleon Bonaparte, and, by repeatedly rejecting terms of peace, finally converted that extraordinary man into a European scourge.* This man, as a warrior, was almost unknown, until, in 1793, he displayed at Toulon superior qualities as a lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and by his military skill obliged the English, Spanish, and Neapolitan fleets to withdraw from the harbour. *His first success was made by English opposition;* but for that he might have remained, as for some time he did remain, without military employment of any kind. After various vicissitudes, he appeared in splendour as the conqueror of Austria, and in 1799 he was chosen First Consul of the French Republic. One of his earliest acts was to propose peace with England; but he proposed in vain, for an arrogant Toryism was

should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his Majesty in his privy council has given to this effect.

“I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

“(Signed) GRENVILLE.”

then in the ascendant, and, as a too natural consequence, *the people* of England had no influence in the state. In May, 1804, he became Emperor, and soon after his coronation in November, he again made overtures for peace with England, but with no better success than in his first attempt. In 1808, he, in connection with Alexander of Russia, made a third proposal for peace with Great Britain; but an infatuated court rejected the voice of humanity, even though uttered by the two most powerful men in Europe. But the pacific effort did not end even here, for as if an over-ruling Providence would favour Great Britain with one other opportunity of conferring honour upon herself and happiness on all Europe, Bonaparte made a fourth offer of peace in 1812, which was as disdainfully rejected as the prior ones had been, and the revolting bloodshed of the "Russian campaign" followed as the consequence. From that day Napoleon became absolutely callous, and proceeded step by step in his progress of military ambition, utterly regardless of the sufferings he inflicted upon mankind, or the blood he shed in the attainment of his cruel and unfeeling purpose. But what training made him dangerous at all? and who supplied the

opportunities for the display of his unparalleled talents as a soldier? And whose impolicy prepared the platform on which, when but a military adventurer, he was challenged to exhibit his war-like abilities to the whole world? The answer is brief, but that answer may defy all dispute. It was *British interference in the affairs of France*. "Who is ignorant," inquires the lamented Mr. Cobden, "that Napoleon, the genius of that epoch, was brought forth and educated by us—that he, until then an obscure youth, placed his foot upon the first step of the ladder of fame when he drove our forces from Toulon, in 1793, and that it was in overcoming the coalitions created by British energy, and subsidised with English gold, that he found occasions for the display of his almost superhuman powers?"\* After a careful and an impartial survey of the entire war, we are compelled, most unwillingly, to admit, that whatever mischief Napoleon caused to Europe and the world, it was owing chiefly to the unsolicited and unrequired interference of England in the affairs of France.

The general conclusions to which we are brought by this brief review of the whole period

\* *Richard Cobden's 1793 and 1853*, Preface p. 4.

, First, that this destructive war was, even on war principles, wholly unnecessary, and might easily have been avoided. In no sense whatever was England called upon to interfere in the affairs of France; but, as the very reverse was dictated both by religion and sound policy, it war must ever be regarded as criminal in the highest possible degree. Second, that frightful and long-continued war neither promoted man happiness, national liberty, nor our country's defence. For the first of these objects it was a mockery, for the second a delusion, and for the third a mere pretence. These objects were never sought, and, slightly excepting the first, were never pleaded. As a whole, it was a perfectly gratuitous war, uncalled for by any own state necessity that bore upon the case. Third, this war will ever remain a proof of the gigantic miseries produced to the human race by the absence of the Christian spirit from the action of governments; and it proclaims aloud to all Christian sects the importance of increased activity in the cause of universal peace, in order to render the return of such a calamity an utter impossibility for all coming time.

Deplorable as the European coalition against

France evidently proved, it is still more deeply to be regretted that England gave to that coalition all its power by BORROWED MONEY. Prodigal in an expenditure of capital that, legitimately viewed, belonged as much to posterity as to the spendthrifts of that particular generation, she bought up or bribed nearly a whole continent to engage in a crusade for the protection of class privileges at home, on the imposing but deceptive plea of putting down a foe abroad. What a pity that those affluent classes, some of whom actually "rolled in wealth," had not the magnanimity to pay for their own extravagance! \* How sad the spectacle, where a too scanty national virtue permits a wealthy class to neglect the plain duty of paying their own debts with their own honest money! It is pitiable to witness the paltry palliatives of the vice that taxes all coming ages to meet liabilities which those *taxpayers* themselves never incurred. The continental nations were far wiser, and—may it not be

\* "By the aristocracy, the clergy, the magistracy, and even the press, the war was declared to be just and necessary, and the shouts of the Stock Exchange were echoed by the capitalists in every part of the country."—*Hopkins's Forty Years, &c.*, p. 91.

added?—more honest. Whatever besides may have been their folly or excesses, they did not inflict upon their innocent children the disgrace and injury of AN ENORMOUS NATIONAL DEBT, such as England is condemned to bear!

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH WAR TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III.

BEFORE proceeding with the general history, it will be proper to notice two or three particulars that stand related to that history, though in a subordinate sense. The first of these is the deportation of Napoleon Bonaparte to the remote island of St. Helena.

That Napoleon himself should have protested against such a determination, is but natural to one who was doomed to be the victim of a severity that made no pretensions to mercy in dealing with a helpless fugitive. To judge of his case aright, it should ever be remembered that he was neither a captive nor a prisoner. His surrender to Captain Maitland, of the *Bel-lerophon*, was entirely voluntary; and though his misfortunes had reduced him to the necessity of closing his career as a public man, yet when he appealed to the most generous of his conquerors, it will ever remain a blot on the name of that

conquering power, that he found neither generosity nor mercy there. His doom was one of a low vindictiveness, for which no justification has been presented from that day to this. But such is the war spirit when paramount in any age, or place, or nation; its very essence is meanness, and it is never so much at home as when it spreads misery among all mankind.\*

\* The solemn and earnest protest of Napoleon himself deserves to be remembered. The following is a copy of that memorable document:—

“I hereby solemnly protest, in the face of God and men, against the violation of the most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came voluntarily on board of the *Bellerophon*. I am not the prisoner, but the guest of England.

“As soon as I was seated on board of the *Bellerophon*, I was upon the hearths of the British people. If the Government, in giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me as well as my suite, only intended to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag.

“If this act be consummated, the English will in vain boast to Europe of their integrity, their laws, and their liberty. British good faith will be lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

“I appeal to history; it will say that an enemy, who for twenty years waged war against the English people, came voluntarily in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so much magnanimity? *A hospitable hand was pretended to be held*

There were two noble-minded men who had the courage and honesty to object to the banishment of Napoleon, both of them peers of the realm, and one a prince of the royal blood. The first was Lord Holland, who, on the second reading of Napoleon's Detention Bill, entered the following protest on the records of the House of Lords, which, on the third reading, was also signed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex :—

“PROTEST.

“Because, without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who is the object of the present bill, I disapprove of the measure which it sanctions and continues.

“To consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief, who, after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country ; and the treaties by which, after his captivity, we have bound ourselves to detain him in custody, at the will of sovereigns to whom he had never surren-

*out to that enemy, and when he confided to it in good faith, he was immolated !*

“(Signed) NAPOLEON.”

“August 4th, 1815.”

dered himself, appear to me to be repugnant to the principles of equity, and utterly uncalled for by expediency or necessity."

This protest did honour to the noble lord and the royal duke, and it cannot but be deplored that the peerage of England furnished only two of its members to share that honour. The whole transaction shows how much more easy it is to be mean than to be merciful. The one gratifies base passion on the cheapest terms, but the other requires a god-like sacrifice which very few men are willing to make.

The next particular requiring notice is the American war of 1812. The true cause of this war is exceedingly obscure. "Both parties," says the *Annual Register* for 1812, "boasted of their moderation and forbearance; both alleged the reason and justice of their cause; yet both were, in fact, determined by motives of state policy operating exclusively upon themselves." It was in truth a war where national jealousy, prompted by national covetousness, studied to inflict injury merely to gratify a contemptible vanity, in which both countries equally indulged. It lasted about two years and a half; shed much blood; destroyed an enormous amount of valuable property; and

when closed in 1814, "not the least notice was taken of the national points at issue on the commencement of the war." Among the foolish deeds of mankind it would be difficult to find one more silly and useless than the American war of 1812.\*

That after a death struggle of some twenty-five years' duration there should have been something like a rebound of national sentiment in favour of more pacific pursuits, and of economy in national expenditures, might have been looked for from the pressure of public necessity, if indeed from no higher cause. During the war there was no social happiness worthy of the name. The food of the people was, on frequent occasions, far too dear to be within the reach of the working populations. Absolute starvation was the fate of many; and wide-spread want and hunger—that always disgraced, and, at times, endangered government to

\* "The last three years of war alone had cost the British nation one hundred and ninety-seven millions—not millions of francs, but millions of pounds sterling. Our national debt testifies to the amount of our exertions and sacrifices."—*Cabinet History of England*, vol. xxv., page 9.

Authorities of equal standing differ as to the *largest amount* of that debt. The *British Almanack and Companion* for 1860, page 139, gives it at £861,039,049. Mr. Burritt, in his

its highest circles—proved the portion of all who gained their scanty bread by “the sweat of their brow.” Like the roll of the ancient seer, it was an age “written within and without with mourning, lamentation, and woe.”

Europe, during all that period, never bore the appearance of being a part of the creation of the God of love; but, otherwise, the ambition of wicked rulers, and the selfishness of corrupt priests, filled it with crimes and misery that made it an image of the bottomless pit. Yet, wretched and miserable as the condition of the people had been through nearly an entire generation, the reaction was sluggish and partial in a remarkable degree. The long war had produced and encouraged a state of sickly and pernicious excitement, with which the enfeebled virtue of the nation was far too slow to part. It had become a popular plaything, and though attended with frightful danger, it had been the plaything too long to be abandoned without regret.

excellent *Year Book of the Nations* for 1855, page 19, reports it to have been £874,253,640. While Porter (vide *Progress of the Nation*, section iv., page 289) states it at the larger sum of £885,186,323. The difference between these authorities shows how great the difficulty is of obtaining anything like *complete accuracy* in matters of national finance.

To this, however, there was one noble exception, and that was in the formation of the London Peace Society on June 14th, 1816. This institution arose like some beacon light on the yet agitated waters; and, as an oasis in the desert, it afforded a resting-place for the weary hopes of mankind. It may serve the purpose of such a man as the *English Opium-eater*\* to affect contempt for any action that tends to disparage the God of his own idolatry, and to treat with a levity unworthy of the scholar and the gentleman every associated effort to supersede the war system of mankind; but other men, of equal intelligence and of broader sympathies, will rejoice that there were twelve men of undoubted social worth, brave enough, earnest enough, and *religious* enough, to take their united stand on the Divinity of our majestic Christianity, and to proclaim the guilt of war to the whole world. The names of those men merit a perpetual remembrance, and they are recorded here as a humble testimony to worth such as the world too seldom witnesses. They were these: Thomas Clarkson, his brother John Clarkson, William Allen, William Crawford, Charles Stokes Dudley, Rev. Thomas Harper, Robert Marsden, Joseph

\* Thomas de Quincy.

Tregellis Price, Evan Rees, John Scott, Frederick Smith, and Thomas Sturge. These men, while differing on some points of religious sentiment, yet were of "one heart and of one soul" in the great cause of universal peace. Confiding in the God of Peace—whom some other men discarded or excluded from their philosophical speculations—they determined on doing their full part towards accomplishing the great purpose of Christianity in "destroying the works of the devil." (1 John iii. 8.) They were noble men; may they continue to have equally faithful successors, until nations, wiser in the future than in the past, "shall learn war no more"!

The British proceedings in India appear to have been but slightly affected by European affairs. The Nepaulese war was carried on with undiminished vigour; Candy, in Ceylon, ultimately submitted to the English forces, and the whole of that fine island became a colonial possession of the British crown. As usual, numbers of lives were sacrificed in these contests, and all the sufferings common to a state of warfare were inflicted on a people who simply sought to keep their own. That the Algerine expedition was more humane—if "*the first broadside that swept off some*

hundreds of the helpless Algerines"\* will permit the use of the term—may be granted without affecting in the least degree the principle that war, waged for whatever purpose, is an evil and a crime. Lord Exmouth, the admiral, was as fine an officer as ever held a command in the British navy, and his expedition to Algiers for the release of Christian slaves had a far higher mission than ever won the laurels for a Nelson; yet, after all, it was the employment of one evil to put down another, and he must be a bold man who would venture to deny, that, in the history of the human race, it is most evident war has made infinitely more slaves than it has ever released. While conceding to the full the merits of that expedition in 1816, it must not be forgotten that to overcome evil with evil is equally opposed to Christianity and the solid interests of mankind, and that to "overcome evil with good" is the true heavenly wisdom, and the safest law for the rule of the world.

It is no part of the object of this history to define the character, or to expose the evident insincerity, of "the Holy Alliance." That most singular compound of power and piety, of des-

\* *Annual Register* for 1816, page 101.

potism and professed liberty, has long since sunk into merited contempt. Poland in one direction, Hungary in another, and manifold states besides, prove, beyond all cavilling, that liberty is never safe but as it is preserved by *the people themselves*. It is a virtue that very seldom comes down from thrones. Monarchs may be good men in private life; but the possession of great political power is a temptation to abuse, that private virtue is too feeble to resist. Hence, the people become, from a sheer necessity, the protectors of their own property; and if once they transfer that duty to their rulers or "superiors," they barter their rights for "a mess of pottage," and directly assist in forging their own chains.

Nor does it fall within the scope of this history to descant, at any length at least, upon the riotous and unhappy state of England in consequence of legislative attempts at the imposition of a "corn law." Yet these criminal attempts, equally with the Holy Alliance, sprang out of the great French war, and are due exclusively to the selfishness of those classes who monopolised the political power of Great Britain and Europe. What cared they that the poor man's bread was too dear to be obtained by his scanty earnings?

What were the "Alpha and Omega" of their legislation but high rents, splendid equipages, and princely resources? The enormous taxation and *borrowed capital*, created by the war, had enabled them so to luxuriate while that war existed; but when peace came, and retrenchment was the universal demand, there remained no possible mode of maintaining their own extravagances but at the expense of the industrious millions. Consequently, the working population, being unrepresented and comparatively helpless, became, without mercy, the victims of this most disgraceful "greed"; and it is by no means surprising that at times they were turbulent, and set at defiance both law and order. The "Manchester massacre" of 1816 was an astounding proof of both wide-spread suffering among the people generally, and of cruel power on the side of those who ruled them. The people "asked bread," and the despotic Government of the day gave them "a scorpion."

In closing the parliamentary session of 1818, the Prince Regent made a cold allusion to these scenes of "distress and turbulence"; but in opening the one for 1819 he congratulated Parliament on the "brilliant successes" in the East Indies.

He informed the country that under the skilful superintendence of the Marquis of Hastings, the campaign was marked by every act that tended to sustain "the reputation of the British arms." The speech then went on to describe some reduction that had taken place in the "forces," with an almost glowing representation of the "flourishing" state of trade and commerce. But in the debates that followed many of these statements were rebutted, and Lord Lansdowne showed clearly that the expenditure of the country exceeded its income by fourteen millions a year. As a whole the royal speech was illusive; taxation continued to be excessive, and the sufferings of the poor were still severe.

On January 29th, 1820, George III. departed this life, after a reign of nearly sixty years. Of this reign—one of the most pregnant on record—it is quite proper to state that it tended but slightly to advance the peace and happiness of the people. Between the monarch and the man a wide distinction always exists, the one being public property, but the other sacredly private and retired. In the one capacity he acts for the nation, but in the other he acts for himself as the head of a family, as any other husband

and father would do. It thus becomes perfectly possible for the same man to be a paragon of virtue in the domestic circle, but a most incompetent or vicious ruler as a sovereign. The virtues of the man do not necessarily extend to the monarch, and it has often happened in the world's history that the same man has been an angel at home but a very tyrant abroad. The personal virtues of George III. were beyond all dispute. As the husband, father, and friend, he was a pattern man, and an example to the whole land; but as a monarch he must be judged of by the facts that marked his reign, and the tone and tendency of his government. He was one of a number of crowned heads who, from ambition, or impolicy, or incompetency as rulers, were parties to the slaughter of not fewer than FOUR MILLIONS of their fellow creatures! \* After a heavy taxation that had no parallel for severity in the annals of the world, he left a debt upon the country of more than EIGHT HUNDRED MILLIONS STERLING!

*Requiescat in pace!*

\* Several reputable authorities give the number of the slain at *six millions*! While admitting this as strongly probable, the writer prefers the above estimate because capable of direct proof.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

GEORGE IV. reigned ten years and nearly five months, having ascended the throne on January 29th, 1820, and died June 26th, 1830. In consequence of his father's long-continued affliction, he had exercised the royal power as Prince Regent for ten years before he became king ; and this fact identifies him, as ruler of Great Britain, with the last years of the terrible French war, the rejection of the pacific overtures of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1812, and the banishment of that fallen chief to the island of St. Helena. Though king *de facto* but a little over ten years, he was virtually monarch of these realms for above twenty years.

On the whole, and especially in comparison with the reign of George III., that of George IV. was both peaceful and economic. On his coming to the throne in 1820, the national debt amounted to £834,900,960 ; but at the period of his death it had been reduced to £784,803,997, being a

diminution of £50,096,963. This sum, spread over the ten years of his reign, gives an annual reduction of the debt at upwards of five millions sterling.\* A small instalment truly of a large debt of relief due to a suffering nation, yet quite large enough to show how much more favourable to a people's true welfare is a condition of peace than one of war. The latter is a spendthrift and a robber, never satisfied but as it squanders a nation's wealth; but the former, like the glorious sun of creation, ever delights to give of its fulness to a weary and a groaning world.

On the accession of George IV., Lord Liverpool was premier, and he continued in office until 1827, having been prime minister for nearly fifteen years. He was succeeded by George Canning, whose career as premier lasted but 121 days. Lord Goderich followed Mr. Canning, and held office but 168 days, or a little over five months; after whom, in 1828, the Duke of Wellington took the reins of government, and held them for nearly three years. During his premiership, the death of George IV. took place, but the Duke continued in power for some months after that event.

\* *British Almanack* for 1860. *Companion*, page 140.

These ministries were by no means warlike, but, as a whole, they studied to heal the disorders in the body politic which the wicked French war had produced. To some extent they laboured to economise the resources of the nation, and to consolidate the pacific condition which was rapidly forming among the people. The thunders of war appeared to have expended their last fury upon the plains of Waterloo, and the political heavens began to wear an aspect of serenity such as a whole generation had never witnessed. Yet the war spirit was far from being dead; and though the age of mighty battles seemed to have expired, yet even the pacific reign of George IV. was not untarnished with bloodshed. True, it was not bloodshed on a large scale, yet it was life destroyed; and that national morality is of a very low standard that permits of complacency because but a few human lives are sacrificed. Nations will never be what they ought to be until the life of immortal man is regarded as the most valuable possession upon earth.

The following extract from the *European Magazine* for 1821 will show that war, for extension of territory, if for no other purpose, still existed, even in this pacific reign. The second dispatch

(from India) is from Captain T. P. Thompson, of the 17th Light Dragoons, and details the circumstances of the unfortunate expedition against the Arabs of Alashkarah in the Gulf of Persia, the force engaged in which consisted wholly of native troops, who could not be brought to measure weapons with the Arabs. The loss of the detachment engaged was necessarily most severe, "as must always be the case," says Captain Thompson, "when troops wait to be attacked with the sword, and then give way." Lieutenant Boswell, 1st battalion, 2nd regiment, and Captain Thompson himself, were the only ones known to have survived, at the time of writing the dispatch. Here was a small, yet a destructive war, with natives on the one side and foreign invaders on the other; but merciful men—such as have but an ordinary share of Christian sympathy in their hearts—will ask the question, "What right had those invaders there?"

Another war of limited extent also occurred in this reign, on the west coast of Africa, with the king of Ashantee. It appears to have been chiefly owing to that most fruitful source of colonial wars, the irresponsibility of men who are appointed governors of those distant settlements.

These men, in a large number of instances, do as they like abroad, and, calculating with an almost established certainty on a complete impunity for the abuse of their power, they lose all sense of responsibility in the ignoble gratification afforded by that very abuse. Of this a striking proof has been given to the world in a very recent case,\* and unless a total change comes over our colonial government, that melancholy instance will not long stand alone. This Ashantee war was one of this class. M. Dupuis had been sent in about 1820 to negotiate a treaty with the monarch, and succeeded in his mission ; but the treaty was not ratified by the Government of Cape Coast. The prior estrangement increased, and in April, 1822, Sir C. M'Carthy took unauthorised possession of the forts on the Gold Coast, on behalf of Great Britain. "He seems to have come to a rather precipitate conclusion that the Ashantees were by no means formidable ;" and he acted towards them as a man who thought he could do with them just what he pleased. At the first the Ashantees were decidedly successful, and in one of the encounters Sir Charles was killed, and there was "a terrible slaughter of officers and

\* Jamaica.

men. A hasty retreat was made upon Cape Coast Castle." Other combats ensued, in one of which the Ashantees "fought with great spirit for five hours."\* But in 1826 they were defeated with great slaughter by the colonial forces under Colonel Sutherland, and after one or two other contests, the useless war finally ceased. The loss of life cannot now be ascertained, but it must have been large, since in one of the minor combats the English forces had 105 men killed, and 400 wounded.

But the most serious war of this reign was that with the Burmese, in 1824-25. On moving for papers respecting this war, Mr. Hume made the following statement in the House of Commons, which was allowed to pass unchallenged: "He was anxious that the House, when it should meet again, might come to some opinion as to the causes of the Burmese war, and as to the manner in which it had been conducted. He did not intend to give any opinion upon it now; but as certain documents were referred to in the papers already printed, he now moved for their production. It was stated that it would appear from certain documents that the Burmese had

\* *Cabinet History*, vol. xxv., p. 88, etc.

been encroaching on our frontiers near Chittagong ever since the year 1822 or 1823. In the papers now before Parliament, it was asserted that the island of Shahpooree belonged to the East India Company, and that the Burmese had taken possession of it. That small island was therefore the cause of the war. From time immemorial it had been in the possession of the Burmese. The East India Company now said it was theirs; he wished, therefore, to see the document by which it was made over to them. His next object was to ascertain the extent of Shahpooree and the revenue it produced. The object might perhaps appear to some unnecessary, as it was admitted to be of no value at all. Still he wished the point to be placed before the House in an authentic form. The fourth return for which he moved was the number of troops stationed in Shahpooree, and from what period. His object in moving for this return was to show that we had no troops in that island till very recently, and that we were the aggressors on the Burmese territory in stationing them there." \* This heavy charge by Mr. Hume was never even questioned, but by

\* *Parliamentary History of 1825*, p. 338. Article, "Foreign Dependencies."

subsequent evidence it was strongly confirmed, and to this day we stand before the world as aggressors in the Burmese war.\* An impartial

- \* It was but natural to that heroic and estimable woman, Mrs. Judson, to represent the Burmese as the aggressors in this war. An American lady, and the wife of an American missionary, could not be supposed to be acquainted with the *antecedents* of the dispute, nor with the intricacies and tortuosities of British Colonial diplomacy. To her innocent and amiable conceptions, the *Christian* army that effected her own and her husband's deliverance from Burman tyranny, would appear as sacred and holy in comparison with the people and forces of "the golden foot." But that excellent lady should have remembered that up to the breaking out of the war, the foreign missionaries enjoyed a considerable amount of toleration, and that their imprisonment and other sufferings were not caused by the Burmese, but by the war itself. Mr. Howard Malcolm, himself also an American, who visited Burmah several years after the war, has the following remarks on the tolerant spirit of the Burmese :—"It has been observed by travellers that this people is remarkably tolerant in religious matters. In a restricted sense, that is certainly true. Foreigners of every description are allowed the fullest exercise of their religion. They may build places of worship of any kind, in any place, and have their public festivals and processions without molestation."—*Travels in the Burman Empire*. Note, chap. vi.

Dr. Price also, immediately on the close of the war, wrote thus to a friend :—"As for myself, I propose remaining in Ava, to take advantage of the present change of feeling in the Burman Government. I think the prospect extremely fair for missionaries, *either under the British or the Burman flag*."

To the aggressive British war *alone* the above interruption and sufferings were owing, and the case is one of many others that prove to a demonstration that war, the wide world over, is a foe, and not a friend, to the spread of religion.

review of the transaction contains the following remarks :—"This island is called Shahpooree, and has never yielded anything but firewood. The Burmese preferred a claim to it as theirs by long established right; but the island was never inhabited, or otherwise occupied. The British officers denied this right, and claimed the island for the Company, resting their claim partly on the position of the island, which, by the law of alluvion (!!), would make it theirs, and partly on the assertion that it had always been considered as theirs, and had been included in their maps and territorial surveys." After this mighty proof of right, which could be pleaded by every tyrant under the sun, the account goes on to state that, "considering the nature of the quarrel, and the worthlessness of the object in dispute, it might have been wise to have sought to explain away the affront, and to have aimed at procuring some such compromise as would have prevented an open rupture; the more as it appears that the Burmese would have been satisfied at one time with an engagement from us not to occupy the island of Shahpooree, and that they would probably have engaged not to occupy it themselves."\*

\* *Parliamentary Review* for 1825, p. 659.

But such was neither the policy nor the intention of the Indian Government. Its scarcely disguised purpose was "annexation," and to accomplish this the paltry dispute about Shahpooree furnished a favourable pretext. They declared war against Burmah, destroyed army after army of their unwarlike forces, and compelled the Burmese Government to pay 10,000,000 of rupees, and to surrender 50,000 square miles of country. Such was the war of aggression against Burmah!

One other event occurred in this reign, which, though it could not be called a war, caused much bloodshed, and that was the naval battle of Navarino. "An English fleet, in conjunction with those of Russia and France, sailed into the port of Navarino, and without any declaration of hostilities, destroyed nearly all the effective marine of an ally for whom we had professed the most friendly intentions, and against whom we were certainly not at war. The Turkish navy never recovered the effect of that blow. Of the victory of Navarino, at once unjust and impolitic, England is at this day (1855), paying the penalty. Such was the foreign policy of what, by courtesy, must be called the

government of Lord Goderich. Such was the disastrous effect of not having clear and defined objects, when fleets are sent forth to strengthen the remonstrances of the diplomatist.”\* And to these words of a war advocate may be added the remark, “and such guilty blood-shedding comes of meddling with the affairs of other nations. It will be a happy day for the world when the example of England, in the love and practice of peace, shall teach mankind that the first duty of governments is to mind their own business.”

During a considerable portion of this reign the national distress was very great, for though the king, in his speech from the throne in 1822, was made to say that in the estimates “a large reduction” had been effected, it is clear from a number of proofs that the sufferings of the people were in no sensible degree alleviated. Mr. Brougham (afterwards the late Lord Brougham) called upon the House of Commons “to pledge

\* *Thirty Years of Foreign Policy*, pp. 93-4. The loss of the English and French in this battle was—118 killed, and 341 wounded. That of the Turks and Egyptians was computed at 8,000 killed and 1,000 wounded. The loss of the Russians had not then been ascertained.

itself to obtain for a suffering people such a reduction of taxation as would afford them effectual relief." Mr. Hume showed beyond question that "the total naval expenses were only £485 6s. 3d. less in 1822 than during the war of 1813." Mr. John Smith stated in the House, "that 99,639 inhabitants of Clare, and 132,000 in Cork, were absolutely without the means of subsistence." The war loans for the long French war had absorbed the solid wealth of the country, and left behind almost nothing besides a paper currency. The state of things was both dangerous and alarming. "The distresses of the people became universal. From London to the Andes on one side, and from London to the wall of China on the other, the cessation of that vivid and violent effort of folly, ambition, courage, and frenzy, all combined under the name of war, produced a languor scarcely less fatal than the sword. Bankruptcy spread like a vast fog over England, America, France and Germany at the same moment. . . . Seventy-five banks broke in as many days. Two hundred and fifty joint-stock companies, which, but the week before, would have contracted to throw a bridge across the Atlantic, make a

railway round the globe, or dig a tunnel to the antipodes, were in the *Gazette*, without a solvent subscriber or an available shilling.”\* “Such a week of anxiety and misery as the last,” says the *Universal Chronologist*, in December, 1825, “we believe, never had been experienced by the mercantile portion of a people in any country since the commencement of civilization and commerce. . . . The oldest merchants in London never recollected such difficulties in obtaining money as were experienced on 'Change all last week. They say the memorable epochs of 1797 and 1815 were as nothing to it.”

These “panics,” with their accompanying disasters, were but the throes natural to the efforts of a great state in returning to a sounder social condition. For twenty-five years and more everything about that condition—its trade, industry, currency, capital, and all else—had been put out of joint by an almost endless repetition of huge war loans. Nothing was natural, and nothing in its right place. From the Chancellor of the Exchequer down to the humblest

\* *Life and Times of George IV.* By the Rev. G. Croly, A.M., pp. 468-9.

money-lender in the land, the financial state of the country was artificial and unhealthy; and though a return to natural principles could no longer be delayed without endangering the whole fabric of government, yet the difficulties attending that return appalled the stoutest heart of the boldest financiers. Resort was therefore had to every conceivable expedient except the right one, and, with a single exception, the attempts at a remedy were but so many specimens of ingenious financial "patch-work." That one exception was in the proposal to reduce the National Debt by £150,000,000. This was in 1822, and after several indications of a determination among the thinking public to effect this if possible. But the proposal came to nothing, and "hope deferred" eventually made the national heart completely sick. To sum up the whole case, the dangers, the miseries, and the want of that gloomy period, cry aloud to the people of Great Britain in every age, "KEEP OUT OF WAR!"

Two great measures were passed in this reign, namely, *The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*, and *Catholic Emancipation*. They were commanding evidences of an irresistible

spread of religious and political liberty; and while they secured a too-long-withheld justice to large numbers of loyal citizens of the realm, they did honour to the reign of George IV.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.

ON the death of George IV., his brother, the Duke of Clarence, ascended the throne with the title of William IV. His reign, which, with one exception—that of James II.—proved the shortest in British history since the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, was not of seven years' duration, and closed on June 20th, 1837. He was much more popular as a sovereign than his brother had been, and was called "the Patriot King," from his known liberal opinions, and the "Sailor King," from his prior connection with the navy.

If this reign was not remarkable for any "brilliant exploits" by sea or land—if it had but little about it to startle or alarm the nations—it stands connected with a virtue to which the prior reigns of the two Georges were totally strange, and that is, the much-needed excellence of a sound national economy. To this day it merits the honour of having been the cheapest government that England has had for nearly a whole century, as the follow-

ing statement of its annual war expenditure will abundantly prove. From 1830 to 1837 the war establishments of the country cost but the following sums, omitting the fractions :—

1830	.	.	.	.	£13,914,677
1831	.	.	.	.	14,379,096
1832	.	.	.	.	13,805,026
1833	.	.	.	.	12,265,103
1834	.	.	.	.	12,066,057
1835	.	.	.	.	11,657,487
1836	.	.	.	.	12,112,968
1837	.	.	.	.	12,716,897*

Now, suppose we take the range of two whole generations, and accept the year 1835 as the central point from which to travel, both backwards and forwards, in order to survey the spirit of the British Government in its war extravagance or economy during the long period of sixty-seven years, what shall we discover? In the first place, we shall find that the year 1835 was that of the lowest war expenditure during the entire period, the whole amount being, as given in the above list, £11,657,487. Travelling back for an entire

\* *British Almanacks; Burritt's Year-Book; Porter's Progress.*

generation we are brought to the year 1802, which may be said to have been in the unhappy period of the fierce French war. In that year the war expenditure amounted to £25,016,408. This, let it be remembered, was a war period. Then, if we travel forward a complete generation, we are landed in the year 1868—a year of peace, with professions of amity or goodwill on all sides, and from all nations. But what was the war expenditure of the British Government at that pacific period? Will it be believed? Is it credible? nay, is it possible, that in the peaceful year 1868, with no existing and no prospective war, yet our war expenditure was larger than in 1802, and that two whole generations passed away, and we had learned so little wisdom as to accept a war budget amounting to the frightful sum of £26,587,541? The army estimates alone were nearly fifteen millions and a half (£15,418,592), which sum exceeds the whole war expenditure of 1835 by no less an amount than £3,761,105. We must be excused for asking whether there is anything besides so monstrous under the sun? There is no parallel to this astounding fact in all creation, whether we turn to the Christian, the Pagan, or the Mohammedan world; and it would

be difficult, if not even impossible, to quote a case of equal national folly in the history of our entire race, where, in a year of entire peace, the very same people spent on war establishments more than *one million and a half of money* beyond all they expended in a year of war ! How can this be explained ? What justification can be pleaded for this drain upon the resources of an industrious and an uncomplaining people ? Have civilisation, commerce, a wider national intercourse, and the more extended spread of religion been all in vain ? Have they done so little in favour of peace, that in 1868 our government actually spent on war establishments much more than double the amount of 1835 ? Or is it not owing *entirely* to the greedy and avaricious character of *all* war systems, which, the more they are fed the more they hunger ; and the more they drink the greater is their thirst ? But where is the remedy ? This very urgent question the people of Great Britain were called upon very recently to answer.\*

\* In the House of Commons of 1868 there were not fewer than 289 members, who, to some extent or other, were pledged upholders of the war establishment, besides about 111 others who were indirectly, or otherwise, supporters of this huge war expenditure. Will succeeding parliaments be more pacific, or

In dissolving the old Parliament and opening a new one, the advisers of the crown kept the king free from any very distinct pledges; his Majesty therefore dealt with only vague generalities in his first speeches from the throne. A considerable part of the continent was in a state of turmoil, a revolution having taken place in France, another in Belgium, and the capture of Antwerp by the French under Marshal Gerard; but, for once, England remained almost neutral,\* and proceeded to the consideration of the great measure of Reform which had so long agitated the country. It was on that occasion that the Duke of Wellington made his memorable speech, that Reform was not required; that if carried, the constitution would be spoiled; and that he would oppose the attempt with all the influence he could command. But the Duke's opposition was all in vain, for on June 7th, 1832, the Reform Bill became the law of the land, and the riotous

more economic? Will they have fewer warriors among their members? This will depend upon the electors themselves; and should they be as thoughtless, or as careless, as hitherto, their burdens in heavy taxation will not only continue, but increase.

\* A united squadron of French and English war-vessels appeared off the coast of Holland to coerce the Dutch. Beyond this, however, nothing appears to have been done.

proceedings of the people in many parts of the kingdom were brought to a speedy close.

If, however, the war spirit of the age found but little or no scope in Europe, it was painfully active in Africa, and more particularly among the Kafir tribes inhabiting the southern frontier of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The Rev. J. J. Freeman, when giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, though speaking with the utmost possible caution, incidentally stated the cause of this deplorable and most dishonourable war. In answer to a question from the chairman (the Right Hon. H. Labouchere), he said: "I refer to acts on the part of the late magistrate, which, for the last three or four years, have been, I think, of an extremely injurious and irritating character, and going far, as I think, to account for, though not to justify, the disaffection under which the Hottentots have now for some time been labouring, and which very unhappily has broken out during this present Kafir war in the shape of disloyalty." He afterwards stated to the committee the distressing and cruel circumstances that attended the expulsion of the Kafirs from the disturbed districts, and said: "Their wives and children were turned out in the

coldest season known there for a long time. I have passed over the same country before, and I can speak to its being most intensely cold ; we have nothing in England or Scotland more intense. It was on a Sunday, in the coldest weather, when this order was carried into execution . . . but it has given rise to a state of disaffection among the people." That treatment so cruel as this should create a feeling of hatred against the religion of the people who could perpetrate such barbarities, is but natural to the case; it is not surprising, therefore, that the Rev. H. Renton, M.A., should have expressed himself in the following terms before the same Committee: "The colonial connection has been hurtful, and not beneficial, to the progress of Christian missions. . . . The French missionaries find their usefulness is impeded by the approximation of the British colony to that territory, in which they have been labouring among the Bassutos. . . . The Kafirs gave them perfect protection ; but I think their disposition towards missionaries is less favourable now than it ever was."\* Mr. Backhouse, who must be regarded as an entirely independent witness on


\* *Blue Book, Kafir Tribes.* pp. 3—6 ; 390, 391,

the subject, says, in his very interesting narrative, that the war "seems to have been a time of general spoliation, except to the military and the merchants. . . . Some of this class of persons, and some who long for a possession in the better land inhabited by the Kafirs, appear almost at times ready to fan any little spark of disturbance between these people and the neighbouring colonists into a flame of discord." \*

It is no exaggeration to say that a more disgraceful war than this was never waged in any part of the earth. Here on the one side was a party representing the first nation in Christendom, and, by consequence, the foremost nation in the civilised world. Their religion stands forth pre-eminent for mercy, long-suffering, and brotherly love. It may be said to be a perfect epitome and reflection of the Supreme Being, who is emphatically love, for "God is Love," and it openly declares that "love is the fulfilling of the law." And here, bordering on this Kafirland, were the officials of this very people, pledged by every solemn obligation to act in the spirit of the faith that gave them both distinction and a name. And, on the other,

\* *Backhouse's Narrative*, p. 301.

there were tribes with vices that repelled, and with virtues that attracted, a race more powerful, *but not more just*, than themselves. On the one side there were the means of conferring benefits with honour; and on the other a readiness to receive, with a gratitude, rude certainly in external guise, but as warm-hearted and sincere as simple nature could furnish. What, however, came to pass? On the one side, the pride of power, the terror of the sword, cattle stolen, habitations burned to the ground, and helpless crowds driven from home, from shelter, and in a large number of instances deprived of precious life itself. And what on the other? A people open to instruction, giving welcome and a protected home to the teachers of a religion which the more thoughtful among them deemed better than their own; a confiding submissiveness to superior intelligence, and a willingness, too often insulted by selfish officials, to adopt the customs and to imitate the conduct of the strangers who now began to innovate upon the lands of their ancient fathers. It was a melancholy, mournful sight. The men who were bound to be merciful were only mighty; and where they stood pledged to be mild and meek, gentle, honourable, and



*honest*, there they proved themselves to be marauders, cruel, and official robbers. Is it wonderful that, under such circumstances, the Kafirs eventually almost hated the very name of the Christian faith?

Another symptom of the influence of the war spirit in the proceedings of this reign is found in the king's speech on opening the Parliament of 1836. He informed the country that "the naval estimates had been increased for the purpose of maintaining the maritime strength of the country, and giving adequate protection to its extended commerce." In accordance with this statement, on the bringing in of these estimates on March 4th, Mr. Charles Wood announced an increase of 5,000 men, making the entire number for the sea service 33,700 men. Whether this addition was owing to a "Russian" or some other "panic," is not very clear, but that it could be for "the protection of commerce" few thoughtful men ever believed. It should be stated, also, that in 1831 Lord Grey proposed and carried an addition to the army of 8,000 men.

During this reign the calamitous connection of the British Indian Government with Affghanistan commenced. It took its rise from the

supposed increase of Russian influence in Central Asia, and led to scenes of bloodshed and horror such as probably were never exceeded in any part of the civilised world. As these particulars will have to be stated hereafter, it is not necessary to say more at present, than that an increase of territory by means of war is evermore an increase of danger, and of political crime.

It is worthy of remark that, economic as this reign appeared to be, the *increase* of the national debt amounted to no less a sum than £6,525,223.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

It is impossible even to conjecture what disasters might have befallen the British Empire, if, on the death of William IV., the *Salic Law* had regulated the succession to the throne of these realms. The king having died without issue, the next monarch must have been Ernest Augustus, fifth son of George III., but better known as the Duke of Cumberland. The *Salic Law* prevailed in Hanover, and, as the consequence, that Duke became King of Hanover. His known tyrannical disposition very soon began to show itself in the government of that kingdom; for one of his earliest acts was the abrogation of the Constitution which had been granted in 1833, and his whole bearing towards his people was that of a despot whose own obstinate will was the law. It is needless to add, that he was never loved, and only grudgingly obeyed.

Fortunately for this empire, our constitution

admitted of a female sovereign, and instead of the unfeeling Ernest, we were blest with a Victoria, then in her nineteenth year. A ruler so young, and especially a lady, had every claim to a nation's sympathy, forbearance, and attachment; and those claims were at once acknowledged by the whole people; and the devotion which they prompted has not been without its due reward. The people's love has been amply repaid by a fidelity on the throne which has never been surpassed from the commencement of the British monarchy. On the year of the Queen's accession to the throne, the national debt amounted to £789,577,720, its interest and management to £29,260,016, and the war charges to £12,716,897. It is of some importance to notice these financial particulars, as necessary to determine how far the present reign has been favourable to peace and economy.

On proroguing the last Parliament of William IV., as preparatory to its dissolution, her Majesty said, "I rejoice that, in ascending the throne, I find the country in amity with all foreign powers; and while I faithfully perform the engagements of my crown, and carefully watch over the interests of my subjects, it shall be the constant

object of my solicitude to preserve the blessings of peace." The Queen also added, "I will give directions that the public expenditure in all its branches be administered with the strictest economy." These sentiments were repeated, in substance, in the following year; but in 1840, on the prorogation of Parliament, her Majesty expressed her sorrow at the necessity for imposing additional burdens upon the people, but hoped to render their pressure as light as possible, by their equitable spread among all classes. To what this increase was owing is not very evident, but as two thousand additional seamen had been voted for ten months, at a time when "the affairs of the east" began to attract attention, it is believed that those affairs were the cause. Thus early in this reign did our meddling foreign policy occasion additional taxation to the English people.

Or, this increased expense may have been owing to the troubled state of affairs in Canada, where, for some years, an extensive agitation had been carried on in favour of a representative government and a union of the provinces in one legislative assembly. It was during these Canadian debates that the Duke of Wellington gave

utterance to the memorable epigrammatic rule, that "a great country like England can have no such thing as a little war." Whether this rule has operated most as an incentive or a check to a great war, is not easy to determine; but one thing it appears to have done beyond all doubt, and that is, to make the people generally more cautious about commencing war, having before their eyes the fearful consequences of the last "great French war." So far the concise expression of the Duke may have done good. The debates on this subject were frequent and tiresome, and it is not at all improbable that the unsettled state of the Canadas caused the increased armament and taxation just referred to. In the Queen's speech proroguing the Parliament in 1840, her Majesty alluded with "much satisfaction" to the deliberations that had taken place on the Canadas question, but made no mention of any expense which that subject had incurred.

But a more terrible event occurred in our connection with China, and it can never be sufficiently lamented, that, so early in the reign of our amiable and youthful Queen, her Government should have been guilty of shedding human blood on a large

scale in that far-distant part of the world. And that which adds to the guilt of this transaction is the fact that England unquestionably was the aggressor, and the aggressor, moreover, on behalf of a disgraceful traffic in opium, which is hardly less than a trade in absolute poison. This is evident from speeches made in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, Sir Robert Peel, and other eminent members. Sir James Graham charged it upon the Government that they had not provided "against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium;" and Sir Robert Peel concluded a speech of great eloquence and power in these words:—"He would pray to God to avert from the unhappy people over whom war impended the dreadful calamities which threatened them, and turn away from us the evils which the neglect and incapacity of our rulers so righteously deserved." Captain Bingham, R.N., who served with the expedition throughout, estimated the loss of life in round numbers at from 15,000 to 20,000 men; and on the conclusion of the war the Chinese were compelled to pay 21,000,000 of dollars (about £5,000,000), to throw open five ports to British commerce, and to cede to her Majesty the island of Hong Kong. In an age when brute force is more

honoured than justice and mercy, and when mere power is more admired than righteousness and virtue, deeds like these will be applauded by multitudes; but when He "by whom kings reign," and to whom they are ever accountable, shall call our rulers to appear before his awful bar, how will they be able to justify the wicked opium war in China? \*

Another, and, if possible, a more calamitous war, also broke out in the early part of this reign, which requires a careful consideration. But before proceeding to dilate upon the terrible Affghan war, it will be interesting to record three subjects that conferred undying honour upon the country, and have tended to the promotion of human happiness on the largest possible scale. The first of these was *the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies*. This great act of humanity and justice took place August 1, 1838, and on that joyous day 800,000 of our fellow-creatures passed out of a condition of slavery into that of freedom, and no payment was ever more cheerfully made than the Twenty Millions for this deed of benevolence. It did honour alike to the Queen, the country, and to our race.—The second great measure which

\* See Appendix, A.

passed early in this reign was that of *the Penny Postage*. It may appear simply amusing to some persons that this measure should be ranked among the great events of the age. But let such persons remember that it has increased the individual and domestic happiness of millions of mankind; that it has extended the bonds that tie the human family together; and that, silently, quietly, but surely, it is spreading a humanising influence and a "bond of brotherhood" over the whole earth. Simple and gentle in its course, it carries a power all the more potent for its gentleness wherever its influence is felt; and since 1840 it has been secretly creating a tie among men which mighty armies will be unable to sever.—The third event worthy of a distinct memorial, is the holding of *the first Peace Convention* in London in 1843. This great assemblage inaugurated an entirely new era in European gatherings. Nothing of the kind had ever been attempted before, and it opened the way for greater activity in the cause of peace than had hitherto existed. It familiarised the public mind with discussions that proved the possibility of reducing abstract principles to practical action; and it showed that the great question of peace had closely to do with the

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everyday life of nations. And more than this, it demonstrated the ease with which ordinary politics could be subordinated to the higher laws of the Christian faith, and it created a sentiment which, though comparatively weak at the beginning, became strong enough in a few years to call into existence and to sustain the noble Congresses that were afterwards held at Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. There were delegated to that Convention 334 persons, many of them men of considerable influence; of these 292 were from Great Britain and Ireland; 26 from the United States; and 6 from the Continent of Europe. During its three days' sittings, the actual attendance averaged 150, besides a considerable number of deeply-interested visitors. Its discussions were extensively published both at home and abroad, and the papers sent in for its adoption, and which are contained in the printed report of proceedings, are among the most valuable contributions to the cause of universal peace that were ever submitted to the public eye. It was on that occasion that *The Times* pronounced a verdict upon the war system which for power, eloquence, and truth, has never been surpassed. It is to be deeply regretted that the *leading*

*journal* has been so frequently given since to contradict itself.

The foregoing events, pregnant as they evidently are with the most beneficent issues to the whole earth, combine to stamp this portion of the reign of Victoria with a value and an excellence that no prior sovereign of the House of Brunswick ever approached. It should be very carefully observed, however, that these royal laurels were gathered from the field of peace, and not from that of war.

Into that darker and more dangerous field we have now to enter in considering the awful Affghan war. "Woe to this Affghan war!" exclaims the *Cabinet History of England*,\* "and mercy to the souls of those who planned it, and who nearly all perished in it." "An army of nearly twenty thousand fighting men, accompanied by sixty thousand camp-followers, thirty-five-thousand camels, besides innumerable pack-horses and wheeled carriages for the transport of artillery, baggage, and commissariat stores, was concentrated in Scind, and leaving Sukkur Buckker as their base of action, penetrated with great waste of life and property, and expense of treasure,

\* *History*, vol. xxvi., p. 218.

through the sterile, inhospitable, and desert wastes of Beloochistaun, debouching from the Bolan Pass upon the plain of Quetta. Thus the expedition has signally failed, and in that failure we behold the retributive justice of an avenging Deity.”\* This failure may be described in a very few words. After interminable disputes with the Affghan chiefs, and an appalling amount of bloodshed, in the dethronement of one king and the setting up of another, it was at last resolved to abandon the country. Then commenced a scene of suffering and horror which has scarcely a parallel in the black annals of war in any age or nation. “Making allowance for the difference of numbers, the retreat of the French from Moscow was less dreadful than this. In both cases, the ice and snow, and nakedness and famine, slew more than the sword. Counting camp-followers, women, and children, more than 26,000 human beings had perished in the retreat, through cold, famine, and the incessant attacks of a most faithless and ferocious enemy.”† And in addition to the dishonour, disgrace, and tremendous responsibility of this destructive

\* *General Harlan's Memoir, &c.* Preface, pp. 7, 9.

† *Cabinet History.* Vol. xxvi., pp. 216, 218.

war, its cost to the British people, according to Sir Henry Willoughby, was not less than £15,000,000 !

Now comes the necessary question, For what was this Affghan invasion attempted ? and for what end and object was this cruel loss of human life incurred ? The answer, furnished by a number of competent authorities, is uniform and unwavering ; and it is this, that it was to curb the assumed increase of Russian power in the east. This was the “ bugbear,” and nothing else. The Affghans, so far from being our enemies, were most anxious to possess our friendship ; and to this day it stands forth as an uncontradicted fact, that this war was a wanton and wicked attack upon a country whose people had done us no wrong whatever. This is clearly proved by the conclusions arrived at by a committee at Birmingham, after a careful and most elaborate inquiry into all the facts connected with the case. Those conclusions are expressed in the following resolutions, which they published in their report :—

“ 1st. That the invasion of Affghanistan was not the act of the Directors of the East India Company, nor of the Governor-General of India,

but of the Home Government. — 2nd. That it was not preceded by any declaration of war, nor by any of those necessary legal forms which distinguish war from brigandage.—3rd. That the pretext by which it was sought to justify the invasion, namely, that Dost Mahommed Khan, the ruler of Cabool, was a friend of Russia and an enemy of England, was utterly false, the contrary of that statement being true.—4th. That that pretext was sustained by the extracts from the dispatches of Sir Alexander Burnes, the English envoy at Cabool, which were laid before Parliament, being so artfully altered, falsified, and garbled, that they bore a meaning precisely the reverse of that of the original dispatches of Sir A. Burnes.—5th. That the results of the invasion were—to irritate Dost Mohammed Khan (who was first deposed and then restored); to sacrifice an English army; to create in Asia a feeling of hatred against and distrust of England, and to prepare the way for the advance of Russia towards the frontier of our Indian possessions.”

That a war so utterly disgraceful should have been permitted to mar the opening reign of Victoria, cannot be too deeply deplored.

It would extend this chapter to too great a

length were full particulars to be given of some other subjects that belong to this period of the Queen's reign. It will be sufficient, therefore, to mention that the present income-tax was now imposed; that the American boundary question was quietly settled by the negociation of Lord Ashburton; and that the great measure of the repeal of the corn-law was also passed. Yet the period closed disastrously by the breaking out of another Kafir war, and that from a most trivial cause. Some stolen goats, or alleged to be stolen, were traced to the territory of Sandilli, who honourably returned them without delay. The thief was demanded of Sandilli, who denied all knowledge of the man. As usual, complications, bloodshed, and devastation ensued, and for a cause so paltry as a few goats, human life was sacrificed by both parties, and for a time the whole country was agitated, if not alarmed, and bitter feelings aroused which the lapse of years has not fully allayed. But such, more or less, has ever been the colonial policy of Great Britain, false honour being a much higher law of action among our distant officials than any regard for the precious lives of mankind!

## CHAPTER XII.

### FROM THE YEAR 1847 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN, OR CRIMEAN WAR.

ANOTHER melancholy event belonged to the last period, but its consideration was deferred for want of space. This was the Sikh war, also known as the war in the Punjaub; but as that calamity extended over several dark and dreary years, its notice will bring us on to the second portion of the reign of Queen Victoria.

At *ten o'clock at night*, on February 23, 1846, the inhabitants of London were aroused from their domestic quiet by the roar of cannon, intended as an expression of public joy at the intelligence, newly arrived, of "splendid victories" obtained over the Sikhs in the previous December. In those days news from India travelled slowly to the metropolis, and many weeks frequently elapsed before reliable information reached head quarters at home. It was so on this occasion. Floating rumour busied itself for some time to the effect that great battles had taken place somewhere in

India, and profound anxiety was thus excited in the breasts of many sorrowful parents and friends who had children or other relatives among the forces there. On the dark evening of the above date it was thundered out from the cannon's mouth that the Sikhs had suffered defeat, and that the British troops were once more masters of the field of slaughter. But what was that victory? Let the following particulars tell the harrowing reality. Nine thousand Sikhs were slain, and from 20,000 to 30,000 wounded, numbers of whom never recovered! Of the British troops *three thousand* were left dead on the field of battle, besides fifty-seven officers killed, and fifty more wounded! The wounded of the British troops were not computed, or at least, were not given at the time, but enough was told to fill thousands of homes with acute sorrow at the recollection of the battles fought at Moodkee and Ferozeshurur. And this scene of awful bloodshed was for the protection of territory which neither right nor justice had obtained.

The Sikhs, though defeated, were not subdued; for they had about them too much of natural bravery, and too strong an attachment to the home of their fathers, to submit quietly to the continued

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encroachments of foreign adventurers whom they had never injured. Their restlessness or hostility gave occasion, however, to the enemy to continue the war. In 1847 Mooltan was taken ; at Chilianwallah they were again defeated by the British troops under Lord Gough ; then again at Goojerat, and finally they surrendered to men who were simply greater fighters than themselves, but not more just or more valiant. The Punjaub was thus eventually annexed to the already overgrown empire in India. It was the triumph of brute power alone, and the victory, if indeed it deserves the name, remains to this day written in letters of innocent blood !

During the war the scenes of suffering and woe were appalling, and bade defiance to all description. But the following, from the pen of a subaltern, will serve as a type of thousands of other cases that are said to have contributed to the "glory" of the British arms!—" *The most heart-rending sight of the day was one I witnessed in a tent I entered. There on the ground, bleeding to death, lay a young mother ; her leg had been carried off by a round shot, and the jagged stump protruded in a ghastly manner through the mangled flesh. She held a baby to her breast, and as she bent over it with maternal*

*anxiety, all her thoughts seemed to be of her child. She appeared totally regardless of the agony she must have been suffering, and to think of nothing but the poor infant, which was drawing its nourishment from her failing breast."* To the honour of his humanity let it be recorded, the soldier gave her a draught of water, and then was obliged to leave her to die. British mothers! how long will you continue to favour a system that everywhere perpetrates cruelties like this? how long will you take a pride in giving your sons to the barbarous trade of war?


But let us turn away from these scenes of inhumanity, which can add no lustre, but rather attach disgrace to the crown of a Victoria, to others which once more remind us of the infinite superiority of deeds of peace to those of war. From William the Conqueror, down through the thirty-six rulers of this kingdom (including Oliver Cromwell) who have presided over our national destinies, there have been no associated actions so worthy of the English name, or so much adapted to unite the jarring nations, as those which now claim the historian's regard. What if they did not originate with governments or cabinet ministers? What, if neither pomp, nor national fame, nor national patronage attended them, to secure

an acceptance too often denied to solid merit simply because it is modest? Yet these events have had an influence on the European mind second to none whatever in the annals of civilisation. And it is worthy of constant remembrance, that the great revolutions of the world—those that have contributed the far larger share to the solid improvement of mankind—have proceeded *upwards* from the people, and not *downwards* from thrones and cabinets. These high functionaries are too remote, in their elevated and affluent condition, from the necessities of the masses in humble life below, to sympathise with those struggles after freedom, or relief from crushing exactions, in which a common suffering has taught whole communities to engage. But that which governments have ever failed even to attempt, intelligent public opinion has finally accomplished; and where rulers have been stagnant, the ruled have led the way to noble achievements. This holds true with regard to those events that now claim a special notice. The first of these was the *Brussels Peace Congress*, held in September, 1848. A more important meeting than this was never collected on European soil. But that importance did not arise from the number, the wealth, or the national influence of

its attendants, although in these particulars the gathering presented high and honourable claims, but from its bold denunciation of the popular war idolatry of the age, and its equally courageous assertion of unpopular maxims that will inevitably lead to a brighter future. This great continental convocation formed a link midway between a Gothic feudalism whose type of government has ever been the sword, and the Christian rule of *moral power* which is yet to bless the whole earth. Of this, its adopted principles, which during the subsequent twenty years have never been impugned, are a striking proof. They were the following :—

“ 1st. That, in the judgment of this Congress, an appeal to arms for the purpose of deciding disputes among nations, is a custom condemned alike by religion, reason, justice, humanity, and the best interests of the people ; and that therefore it considers it to be the duty of the civilised world to adopt measures calculated to effect its entire abolition.

“ 2nd. That it is of the highest importance to urge on the several governments of Europe and America the necessity of introducing a clause



into all international treaties, providing for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration, in an amicable manner, and according to the rules of justice and equity—special arbitrators, or a supreme international court, to be invested with powers to decide in cases of necessity, as a last resort.

“3rd. That the speedy convocation of a Congress of Nations, composed of duly appointed representatives, for the purpose of framing a well-digested and authoritative international code, is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as the organisation of such a body, and the unanimous adoption of such a code, would be an effectual means of promoting universal peace.

“4th. That this Congress respectfully calls the attention of civilised governments to the necessity of a general and simultaneous disarmament, as a means whereby they may greatly diminish the financial burthens which press upon them; remove a fertile cause of irritation and inquietude; inspire mutual confidence; and promote the interchange of good offices, which, while they advance the interests of each state in particular, contribute largely to the maintenance of general peace, and to the lasting prosperity of nations.”

These principles are of too much value to be allowed to die away out of sight; hence their preservation in these pages, that our rising young men may know for what their seniors laboured in less happy times than their own. And these resolutions will also serve as landmarks in whatever storms interest, ambition, or ignorance, may attempt to raise among thoughtless nations. Keeping these points steadily in view, the melancholy evils of past misgovernment can never be repeated in the future on any large scale.

There followed, in 1849, the second great Peace Congress, and this was held at Paris. On that celebrated occasion some of the first men of the age, both in literature and politics, assembled together to deliberate upon measures for the ultimate removal of war from the civilised world. It was a noble gathering, and the eloquence and power that characterised its debates, would have done honour to the first senate upon earth. The publication of those debates, following so soon after the equally impressive discussions at Brussels, created throughout Europe an interest in the cause of universal peace wholly unknown before, but one which can never be lost. Ever since that period it has been quietly producing among the European states

symptoms of an aversion to war which abundantly testify that the seed then sown was not sown in vain. One circumstance, however, connected with the Paris Congress, claims a special notice at our hands, and that was the prompt and earnest adhesion of the Archbishop of Paris to the objects of the congress. The following extract from his letter addressed publicly to that assembly will show that his sanction was neither lukewarm nor affected, but that it spread from a genuine attachment to the religion in whose service he was appointed to minister. The Archbishop said :—  
“I think with you, gentlemen, that war is a remnant of ancient barbarism; that it is accordant with the spirit of Christianity to desire the disappearance of this formidable scourge from the face of the earth, and to make strenuous efforts to attain this noble and generous end. . . . I beg you, therefore, gentlemen, to inscribe my name amongst the friends of the Congress of Peace; but it is to me a source of deep regret that I cannot, on account of my health, accept the honour which you have so generously offered me of presiding over you. If my physician, who urges me to go on a journey to avoid a dangerous state of health, would nevertheless consent to let me put it off for some

days, and if my neuralgic pains are not too violent, it will afford me real pleasure to be present at one of your sessions.”\* These remarks imparted a cheerful tone to that Congress, which continued to its close, and inspired the hope that high church officials in other countries would be prompted to copy so worthy an example. And where can the ministers of religion be more in place than when advocating peace among mankind? This is, undoubtedly, the noblest part of their mission; but when they pervert their sacred calling, and the influence which it gives them beyond that of any other class, to purposes of war and bloodshed, they convert the pulpit into a means of mischief; and religion itself, in such hands, becomes a curse, and not a blessing to mankind.

The third general Peace Congress was held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1850. While bearing to the preceding ones at Brussels and Paris a strong “family likeness,” in its general tone and resolutions, it was, on the whole, more argumentative, and the intellectual element preponderated over its predecessors in a marked degree. It was a noble *finale* to the continental peace gatherings, and it left behind an impression, on the German

\* *Report of Paris Peace Congress*, page 15.

mind especially, which the literature of that part of Europe continues to acknowledge to this very day.

Before passing away from the record of these remarkable congresses, it will be quite proper to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to them all by the delegates and visitors from England. If, in past times, the English troubled the Continent with perfectly gratuitous wars, and assisted to spread sorrow and death on a large scale among its numerous nations, some small compensation was made for these grievous mistakes in the zeal and disinterested activity of the sons and daughters of Great Britain, in these pacific movements, to which they contributed so large a share. They formed the most numerous portion of all that attended them; and at a great expense, accompanied with much inconvenience, they furnished a proof of fidelity to the cause of peace which the most thoughtful minds in Europe have not failed to admire.\*

\* That most valuable body, the *Society of Friends*, contributed greatly to the efficiency of those congresses. In addition to many other of its members, whose laborious zeal and diligent attentions will never be forgotten, that excellent and lamented man, Joseph Sturge, gave his whole heart and soul to ensure, if

This portion of her Majesty's reign was honoured, also, with two efforts in the British Senate, that had in view precisely the same object which the above congresses studied to accomplish. And in both instances they originated with that memorable and superior man, Richard Cobden. The first of these was his motion for Arbitration in lieu of war. This was submitted to the Commons in the year 1849, and, after a debate in which profound argument on the one side was met by commonplace generalities on the other, the motion was negatived by 176 to 79. The speech of Mr. Cobden on introducing the motion was every way worthy of the man. For sound logic, and cool argumentation, it has seldom been equalled in the history of parliamentary debate. By those who heard it (and the writer was fortunate enough to be one of them) the speech was regarded as perfectly unanswerable on the great points of the question before the House. The attempted replies of Lords Palmerston and John Russell were like school-boy responses to the

possible, the success of those important meetings. To a devotion that never tired, he added a gentleness and simplicity of character that endeared him to all with whom he came into contact.

challenge of a giant. The votes in opposition to Mr. Cobden represented 2,931,540 of the population ; but the minority of 79 in his favour represented 4,356,786. Consequently, the majority in support of his motion amounted to not less than 1,425,246 of the people as represented by the votes of the House. On the one side the influence of office was opposed to Mr. Cobden, but on the other the votes of *the people* were largely in his favour. It is proper also to state that 179 petitions, containing 15,640 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons in support of Mr. Cobden's motion.

In 1850 Mr. Cobden assailed the war expenditure of the Government, by moving that it should be reduced to the standard of 1835. On dividing the House, there were 89 votes for the motion, and 272 against it. Nothing daunted, he repeated, in the following year, his pacific efforts in favour of a mutual reduction of armaments between Great Britain and France. In his support, 43 petitions, containing 3,454 signatures, were presented ; but, after eliciting from the Government, in an admirable debate, an approval of the general principle, he withdrew his motion without going to a division. In

1851, 1852, and 1853, Peace Congresses or conferences were held in London, Manchester, and Edinburgh, and though they led to no very marked political action, they spread broadcast upon the national soil seeds of peace whose fruits are apparent at the present day, both at home and abroad. In all these particulars this period of the reign of Queen Victoria will bear comparison with the most illustrious eras of British history; and it will be to the everlasting honour of England that in this portion of her Majesty's sway, more was done for the happiness of the human family than had ever been attempted before.

But the period had also its dark and repulsive contrasts. Human blood was shed in various parts of our colonial possessions, and there, far beyond the reach of the friends of peace, the war-fiend was allowed both a shelter and a home. In Borneo, Rajah Brooke seized upon the large province of Sarawak, and then proceeded to a war of extermination against the wild Dyaks of another part of the island. *The Times*, though his apologist, admitted that 1,500, or 2,000, of those defenceless barbarians were blown to pieces in a very short space of time. And for such

awful deeds, under the guise of suppressing piracy, the guilty perpetrators received a large money reward.\* Another fearful war, also, was waged against the Kafirs, making the fifth in about thirty years, and proving to a demonstration the radical viciousness of the Government at the Cape. The *Morning Chronicle* of that period, referring to the governor, Sir Harry Smith, said of him, that "If his Excellency had set his wits to work to render the first approach of civilisation still more odious to a tribe of warlike barbarians than it was likely under any circumstances to be, he could not have devised a more suitable system of administration than that which he established in Kaffraria. . . . The history of the world shows no parallel to the suddenness with which these armed apostles of civilisation appeared to have accomplished their mission." However, in the face of all this, that governor was the accredited representative of this great Christian community, and the official exponent of our constitution and government. But did he faithfully

\* An admirable pamphlet from the pen of L. A. Chamerov-zow, entitled "*Borneo Facts versus Borneo Fallacies*," was published at the time. It laid bare the whole transaction, and plainly proved the enormous wrongs inflicted by unfeeling power on an utterly helpless people.

represent Great Britain in these deeds of robbery and bloodshed? If he did, who then are the guilty parties but the British people themselves? If, however, he did not, why then was he not officially denounced for having disgraced the English name? During his administration at the Cape, he gave utterance to as profane and irreligious a sentiment as ever fell from the lips of an ungodly man. On the occasion of a grand review of the troops he apostrophised the soldiers in these impious terms: "*Soldiers! your first duty is to your officers; and your second to your God!*"\* It may be asked, with all possible seriousness, Was such a man a fit representative of Christian England?

A similar policy was also pursued in Burmah, and with very similar results. To say that it was disgraceful and dishonourable in the highest degree to the British name, is far below the wicked reality. No transaction connected with the guilty colonial government of these realms more richly deserved to be called "wicked" than this. It merited the sternest condemnation of all who entertain the slightest respect for the honour of

\* Affirmed by the Rev. J. J. Freeman, who was at the Cape at the time.

our common Christianity. Mr. Cobden, in his masterly pamphlet on this war, and entitled "HOW WARS ARE GOT UP IN INDIA," was fully warranted in making the following impressive remarks upon it: "How, or when, the retribution will react upon us, I presume not to say. The rapine in Mexico and Peru was retaliated upon Spain, in the ruin of her finances. In France, the *razzias* of Algeria were repaid by her own troops, in the massacres of the Boulevards, and the savage combats in the streets of Paris. Let us hope that the national conscience, which has before averted from England, by timely atonement and reparation, the punishment due for imperial crimes, will be roused ere it be too late from its lethargy, and put an end to the deeds of violence and injustice which have marked every step of our progress in India." (Page 58.)

Hitherto this hope has failed of realisation, but whatever party may take the reins of office at home, one of their earliest duties will be to effect a thorough reform in the colonial government of this Christian empire.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN, OR CRIMEAN WAR.

THE year 1854 will be regarded by posterity as one of the dark periods of the nineteenth century. In that unfortunate year, death commenced high carnival, and employed the too obsequious nations of Christian and Mohammedan Europe to prepare the feast. Those Christian nations might have refused to obey his cruel mandate; they might have exhausted every resource of reason, forbearance, and compassion for the sufferings of mankind; and, by such a dignified course, have shown the Turk the vast superiority of the Christian faith over that of "the prophet." But they lost the golden opportunity by their own wilful blindness, or, possibly, by the blandishments of a jealous and shortsighted diplomacy; and where humanity awaited to bless them, they as good as invoked its direst curse.

The parties to this Russian war were the English, the French, the Sardinians, and the Turks,

on the one side, and the Russians on the other—four nations against one. How far the national characteristics, or failings, or vices, of these several populations had to do with this war, or to what extent they may have given birth or encouragement to many other wars, it is almost impossible to determine. But a brief glance at the “failings” of the greatest nations in this unhappy struggle will help us to understand much in their war history that would otherwise remain wholly unaccountable. 1st. *England*.—Its national infirmity is *the ambition to possess*. This leads, in all ages, to conquest, with a view to territorial aggrandisement. Hence the colossal colonial empire of Great Britain, and the fact that, *as a rule*, conquest and possession are inseparable in the progress of British wars. But, as with the old Roman Empire, this national vice leads, too frequently, to downright robbery. 2nd. *France*.—This nation is vain, and its leading vice is *the love of glory and display*. It fights more for fame than possession, and, in general, it is content with having won the campaign and defeated the foe. As a consequence, it has no colonies to signify, and has engaged in but few wars for the mere extension of territory. 3rd. *Turkey*.—Its vice, and what is still

more to be deplored, its source of decay, is an *indolent fatalism*, that defies every approach to systematic improvement. It has been for generations a stagnant conservatism; and should it escape a final ruin, it will be owing to influences and principles not indigenous to the Turkish character. These must come from abroad, and be supplied by a purer faith than it is possible for Islamism to produce. 4th. *Russia*.<sup>\*</sup>—Its characteristic failing, as a great state, is *love of power*, not so much, as with England, from a desire to possess, as from an eagerness to be great above others, and to dominate. Having an almost unlimited extent of territory already, it can afford to forego the desire for more, and the national vice is thus left to find gratification in the ambition to subdue. The lines of distinction between this vice and that of England are often very faint and obscure, and the resemblance between the two is so marked that contrast is next to impossible. But a people who have subdued, and continue to *possess*, an India, the Punjaub, South Africa, and to some extent Burmah, China, Australia, and New Zealand, can point with only a very sorry grace to Poland and

<sup>\*</sup> Sardinia is not referred to here on account of its general similarity to the French nation.

Hungary. The two national vices are so much alike that they defy the utmost scrutiny to determine which of them is the most deformed.\*

These various forces met in the Crimean war; but for what purpose? That there was any real danger to England, France, and Sardinia, from the attitude of Russia towards Turkey, has never yet been proved, though frequently asserted. Fourteen years have passed away since that disastrous conflict began, and to this very hour no writer of any credit, or of competent information upon the subject, has ventured on the proof that those nations were in any peril whatever. And if not in peril, then what had they to do with the war? It is a national wickedness for which no justification can be pleaded, even on war principles, to unite for the destruction of tens of thousands of mankind, where no danger exists, or is even possible. Yet such was the Crimean war, the whole of which is due to the jealousy of one great nation, the vanity of another, and the religious obstinacy

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\* Were it not an approach to vulgarity, the well-known adage would apply to these rival governments, that "*two of a trade can never agree.*" United, their vast power might be employed to lead on the world to a more happy future; but hitherto their mutual jealousies have done much to sow discord among mankind at large.

of a third. And to these should be added the too ready desire of a fourth party to dictate, where calm remonstrance, urged forward in a Christian spirit, would have proved more than a match for the bigotry of the Mussulman. But where reason is systematically abandoned, nothing remains short of the contest of mere brute force to decide any dispute; and when once this low, barbaric principle becomes the accepted law of action, then humanity, religion, and even common sense, are given to the winds.

If it is urged that Turkey was in danger, it should be recollected that Russia had not created that danger, but that some twenty years before the Crimean war that danger had been pointed out by one of the first of European statesmen; and when Russia first interfered in the Turkish question, it was but to provide for the crisis which that very statesman had foreseen. That eminent man was M. Alphonse De Lamartine, who, with a penetration of the most profound nature, wrote of Turkey, in 1833, in the following terms:—"But the Ottoman empire no longer exists, except in name; its life is extinct; its weight no longer sways the balance; it is nothing but a vast void, which your anti-human policy wishes to leave vacant,

instead of filling it with a healthy living population, which nature has already planted there, and which you might replenish and propagate yourselves. Do not precipitate the fall of the Ottoman empire, do not usurp the office of fate, do not assume the responsibility of Providence; but do not sustain, by an illusory and culpable policy, that phantom to which you can at best give only an appearance and attitude of life, for it is dead. Do not become the allies of barbarism and Islamism against the more advanced stages of civilisation, reason, and religion, which they oppress; nor the accomplices of the slavery and depopulation of the finest parts of the world. Let destiny accomplish its purposes: observe, wait, and be ready." He afterwards sketched an outline of what the future of Turkey would require. "Let us now see what ought to be done. Let a Congress be assembled of the principal powers bordering on the Ottoman empire, or having important interests in the Mediterranean, to establish the principle that Europe withdraws from all action or direct influence upon the internal affairs of Turkey, and abandons it to its own vitality and the chances of its destiny; and to agree beforehand, that in case of the fall of

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this empire, whether by a revolution at Constantinople, or by successive dismemberments, the European powers shall take, under the title of protectorates, such portions of its dominions as shall have been assigned to each by the stipulations of the Congress.”\*

These wise precautions constituted, in substance, the object of “*the secret correspondence*” which took place in 1844, and against which the British Government entered no known protest, notwithstanding that it was in their possession ten years before the breaking out of the Crimean war. For all practical purposes, that “silence gave consent” to the main objects of this correspondence; otherwise, why was it not exposed, and, in the interests of Europe, denounced as it should have been, if those interests were endangered? If, as it was subsequently charged against the Czar, that he intended treachery, the British Government became, tacitly, the ally of the traitor, by withholding the exposure which it had the means of giving to the world. But was there this treachery? Let the “correspondence” speak for itself, and as it is necessary to a complete understanding of the Crimean question, it is

\* *Lamartine's Travels in the Holy Land*, pp. 748, 748, 749.

here given in full, so far as bearing on the question of war with Russia.

This "Secret Correspondence" was printed and presented to Parliament in 1854—both that of 1844 and that of 1853. It appears that when the Emperor Nicholas returned to St. Petersburg, from his visit to London in 1844, he put Count Nesselrode in possession of the outlines of the conversations he had had with the English statesmen; and from these outlines a document was drawn up, designated a "Memorandum by Count Nesselrode, delivered to Her Majesty's Government, and founded on communications received from the Emperor of Russia subsequently to His Imperial Majesty's visit to England in June, 1844."

This memorandum consists of twenty-eight paragraphs. Four of these assert that Russia and England are interested in the maintenance of Turkey as she is; three relate to Turkish evasion of treaties; \* six relate to religious difficulties in Turkey; and then comes the following important part of the memorandum:—

"However, they [Russia and England] must not con-

\* As the treaties and conventions between Russia and Turkey

ceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that empire contains within itself. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten its fall, without its being in the power of the friendly cabinets to prevent it.

“As it is not given to human foresight to settle beforehand a plan of action for such or such unlooked-for case, it would be premature to discuss eventualities which may never be realised.

“In the uncertainty which hovers over the future, a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application; it is that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common.

“That understanding will be more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire conformity  
are frequently mentioned, the following list may be useful, relating to the period between 1774 and 1849 :—

Treaty of Kainardji	1774
„ Constantinople	1783
„ Jassy	1792
„ Bucharest	1812
„ Adrianople	1829
„ Unkiar-Skelessi	1833
„ St. Petersburg	1834
„ Constantinople	1836
„ London	1841
„ Balta-Liman	1849

of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey, in a common interest of conservatism and of peace.

“In order to render their union more efficacious, there would remain nothing to be desired but that England should be seen to associate herself thereto with the same view.

“The reason which recommends the establishment of this agreement is very simple.

“On land, Russia exercises, in regard to Turkey, a preponderant action.

“On sea, England occupies the same position.

“Isolated, the action of these two powers might do much mischief. United, it can produce a real benefit: thence the advantage of coming to a previous understanding before having recourse to action.

“This notion was in principle agreed upon during the Emperor's last residence in London. The result was the eventual engagement, that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common.

“The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding may be expressed in the following manner :—

“1. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible.

"2. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists, and in conjunction with each other to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own states and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

"For the purpose thus stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already stated, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna.

"Conflict between the Great Powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest, if the case occur, that, as the Emperor agreed with her Britannic Majesty's ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves must be directed." \*

\* See *Chambers's History of the Russian War*, chap. iii., p. 64.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to the *policy* indicated in the foregoing correspondence, there ought not to be the slightest respecting the frankness and candour of the Czar in this affair. In the event of a certain contingency, he stated openly to the British Government, and in the plainest possible manner, what he conceived had better be done, pointing out the necessity of both governments being prepared beforehand for such an eventuality. Here there was no disguise, no tortuosity, no secrecy. He foresaw, as many others also had foreseen, a probable catastrophe, and in the spirit of friendly confidence he communicated his view of duty to the Government of Great Britain, that the two nations might act in perfect harmony should the anticipated crisis arise. To say that he meant the "spoliation" of Turkey, is to beg the whole question, or to indulge in an unfounded slander which can only disgrace those who employ it. To the last he denied this, and common fairness demands that he should be believed, unless *proof* to the contrary can be furnished. *This has never been furnished yet.* Invectives innumerable, reproaches without end, and imputations the most unfounded, have been the staple commodities in which his assailants have

dealt for years; but *proof* of any intention upon Turkey other than that contained in the above candid correspondence, remains to be furnished by the maligners of Russia.

On the occasion of the interview with Nicholas which was granted to those benevolent and humane men, Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease—a deputation from the Society of Friends in England—he replied to their address in the following solemn and appropriate manner :—

“We received the blessings of Christianity from the Greek empire, and this has established, and maintained ever since, a link of connection, both moral and religious, between Russia and that power. The ties that have thus united the two countries have subsisted for 900 years, and were not severed by the conquest of Russia by the Tartars ;—and when at a later period our country succeeded in shaking off that yoke, and the Greek empire, in its turn, fell under the sway of the Turks, we still continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of our co-religionists there ; and when Russia became powerful enough to resist the Turks, and to dictate the terms of peace, we paid particular attention to the well-being of the Greek Church, and procured the insertion in successive

treaties of most important articles in her favour. I have, myself, acted as my predecessors had done, and the Treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, was as explicit as former ones in this respect. Turkey, on her part, recognised this right of religious interference, and fulfilled her engagements until within the last year or two, when, for the first time, she gave me reason to complain. I will not advert to the parties who were her principal instigators on that occasion ; suffice it to say, that it became my duty to interfere, and to claim from Turkey the fulfilment of her engagements. My representations were pressing but friendly, and I have every reason to believe that matters would soon have been settled, if Turkey had not been induced by other parties to believe that I had ulterior objects in view ; that I was aiming at conquest, aggrandisement, and the ruin of Turkey. *I have solemnly disclaimed, and do so now as solemnly disclaim, every such motive.* I do not desire war ; I abhor it as sincerely as you do, and am ready to forget the past, if only the opportunity be afforded me.

“I have great esteem for your country, and a sincere affection for your Queen, whom I admire not only as a Sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother. I have placed full confidence in her, and have acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit. I felt it my duty to call her attention to future

dangers, which I considered as likely sooner or later to arise in the East, in consequence of the existing state of things. What on my part was prudent foresight, has been unfairly construed in your country into a designing policy, and an ambitious desire of conquest. This has deeply wounded my feelings, and afflicted my heart. Personal insults and invectives I regard with indifference. It is beneath my dignity to notice them. And I am ready to forgive all that is personal to me, and to hold out my hand to my enemies in the true Christian spirit. I cannot understand what cause of complaint your nation has against Russia. I am anxious to avoid war by all possible means—I will not attack, and shall only act in self-defence; but I cannot be indifferent to what concerns the honour of my country. I have a duty to perform as a Sovereign. As a Christian, I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion, my great duty is to attend to the interests and honour of my country."

With the sole exception of consenting to a war of defence, this speech was most admirable; and all the more from its solemnly disclaiming "aggrandisement, and the ruin of Turkey." In a conversation with Sir H. Seymour in the year 1853, the Emperor, alluding to the

aggrandising visions of the Empress Catherine, said :—

“I do not inherit those visions, those intentions, if you like to call them so. On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory, or more power than I possess; on the contrary, I am the first to tell you that our great, perhaps our only danger, is that which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large.”

“And what, viewed apart from that violent suspicion which distorts everything to its own purpose, does this secret correspondence prove? It proves that the Emperor of Russia (as Lord Stanley recently observed) was above all things anxious for the friendship and alliance of England. It proves that, spontaneously and of his own accord, he solemnly disclaimed on his own part and that of his son and successor, any wish or design of establishing himself at Constantinople. It proves, that in anticipation of the inevitable downfall of Turkey, of which there is probably no statesman in Europe who now entertains any serious doubt, he thought it desirable to have some understanding as to what should be done

with that power, which, next to himself, had the greatest interest in the fate of Turkey, in order, if possible, to avoid the confusion and certainty of a European war, which must attend such an event if it came unprepared for.”\*

But, notwithstanding the absence of any solid, well-defined cause for strife and contention, a scene ensued that baffles all description, and compels every humane and thoughtful man to inquire, “how comes it to pass that the vast interests of millions of God’s family upon the earth, have been entrusted to such political triflers? How is it that men who would not be employed in a common counting-house because they had proved themselves “bunglers” in their office, are permitted to decide upon the lives and welfare of myriads of mankind?” A writer of the period has given a graphic account of the ridiculous contentions that followed, in these terms: “The English Government became more and more distrustful of Russia: they declined to urge Turkey to accept the Vienna Note; they

\* *History of the Origin of the War with Russia*, pp. 26, 27. This pamphlet, from the eloquent pen of Henry Richard, Esq., M.P., contains by far the best digest upon the subject that has yet been given to the public. It evinces all the care, industry, and ability of its well-known author.

declined to accede to a new note prepared at Olmütz by Austria; and they now refused to permit Russian ships of war to roam over the Black Sea. Turkey declared war early in the month; and the allied fleets soon afterwards passed through the Dardanelles. Vain attempts were made at further agreements. The original Vienna note had been rejected by Turkey; the amended note had been rejected by Russia; the Olmütz proposition was rejected by England; Lord Stratford de Redcliffe prepared a plan, which was rejected by Austria; and now the Earl of Clarendon prepared a plan which was suddenly cut short by the passing of the Danube at the end of the month, and the virtual commencement of hostilities.”\* Did these quarrelsome officials ever intend peace? Or were they not, in heart, determined on war from the beginning of the dispute?

Unwilling as one ever feels to charge the latter alternative upon the representatives of any of the governments in question, yet, in the presence of facts that cannot be denied, it is difficult, if not even impossible, to avoid the melancholy conclusion. This, however, will be more fully stated in the next chapter.

■ \* *Chambers's History of the Russian War*, chap. iii., p. 58.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### TO THE CLOSE OF THE RUSSIAN, OR CRIMEAN WAR.

"THE RUSSIAN WAR WAS A MEASURELESS CALAMITY," are the memorable words of a statesman who, perhaps, has suffered more for being honest than any other public man of his day.\* In this mournful estimate of the war, that eminent man but re-echoed the more expanded description of it by an equally eloquent speaker, whose earnest protest against it was uttered in the following terms :—

"If for our own share we have been deprived of the precious lives of from twelve to fifteen thousand of our countrymen — if of the brave sons of France double that number, or more than double, have fallen by war and by the diseases in its train — if we reckon the havoc made among the poor Turks, again we rise in the fearful scale, for of them a far greater multitude have sunk little heeded into their nameless graves. I

\* *The Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.*—Speech in the Commons, December 18, 1862.

saw, not long ago, in the public prints, a detailed account, which had all the indications of correctness, and according to which the loss of life in the Turkish army since the war broke out had been 120,000. [A voice : 'The Russians.'] No, sir, that was the work of war among the Turks. Nor is there for me any consolation whatever in the yet more dismal tale which has been told us, that against the 50,000 French and English, and the 120,000 Turks, not fewer than 250,000 Russians have been numbered among the dead. The terrible sum total must by this date have come to near half a million : so that by the havoc of this war, for the time that it has lasted, the lives of almost 1,000 of our fellow men have been extinguished daily. If, indeed, we are making war for a just and sufficient cause — for a cause that will bear examination in our hearts and in our consciences, in the face of man and before the eye of God, we must bear the hard necessity, nor need we shrink even from the terrible slaughter it involves ; but if this be not so, if from whatever cause you allow this war to be prolonged for no object at all, or for secondary and petty objects, or for any purposes, however brilliant they may seem, which we dare not avow in a solemn public declaration, or make known through the Government, the organ of the country, and dare scarcely avow even in the freedom of conversation

with our fellow men ; let us, while there is time, do all that in us lies, by taking an initial step towards putting an end to the desolation of this awful scourge ; let us, by the adoption of terms so just and plain, so moderate and circumspect as those which are proposed to us by my hon. friend, do what for the moment depends upon us towards giving back to Christendom the hope at least of happiness and repose." \*

That it should be difficult to assign the true cause of a war that destroyed nearly, or, including subsequent conflicts, above "half a million" of human lives, proves two things that reflect the utmost possible disgrace on the Christian civilisation of the nineteenth century. It proves first, the practical irresponsibility of the various governments engaged in it, and the dangerous power they were allowed to possess over the dearest interests of mankind. What cared they for human life, or for its wide-spread destruction in that useless struggle ? Plainly enough those contentious officials had no conscience to hold them in restraint, and being let loose from every healthy national check, they proceeded to trifle with the existence of immortal man, on an

\* *The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.*—Speech in the Commons, May 24th, 1855.

awfully large scale. But did not the blame of all this lie with the people themselves? — It proves, secondly, the startling indifference of the European populations generally to the sacred claims of justice, mercy, and truth; and the culpable ease with which they suffer designing or incompetent diplomatists to invigle them into the commission of the most terrible of political crimes. Humanity, on a wide scale, never appeared to greater disadvantage than among the English people especially, during that wild *furor* against the Russians which this lamentable war evoked. Even educated men—*gentlemen*—equally with the public at large, seemed to abandon themselves to an ungoverned passion that delighted in dealing out gross insults upon whoever would not rave and rant against the Czar as much as themselves.\*

\* The writer frequently witnessed this vulgar treatment, and more than once became its unfortunate victim. On those sorrowful occasions, argument, or calm reasoning, was thrown away as completely as if it had been attempted in a menagerie; for “fists,” or other of the “physical forces,” ruled the day, and “brains” were at a large discount. The ignominious rejection of Mr. John Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson at Manchester, was due exclusively to this kind of animal logic; nor has the race of those who at that period so violently “stoned the prophets,” entirely died away.

So far as England was concerned, this "temporary insanity" was all the more astonishing, for nothing can be plainer than that the British Cabinet admitted the justice of the demands made by Russia upon Turkey. In a dispatch to Sir G. H. Seymour, dated "Foreign Office, February 9th, 1853," Lord John Russell gave, spontaneously, the following description of Nicholas and his Turkish policy. His Lordship said: "Upon the whole, Her Majesty's Government are persuaded that NO COURSE OF POLICY CAN BE ADOPTED MORE WISE, MORE DISINTERESTED, MORE BENEFICIAL TO EUROPE, THAN THAT WHICH HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAS SO LONG FOLLOWED, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory."—*Eastern Papers*, part v., p. 8. And in less than two months afterwards (April 5th) Lord Clarendon, in another dispatch from the same office, admitted as much, though in different words. Under this last date the Earl wrote as

It was widely different on the Continent. There the contest was regarded, generally, as the war of *one man* (Napoleon), and, as a whole, the people looked on with the utmost indifference. As to danger from Russia, it was rarely if ever mentioned.

follows:—"Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe was instructed to bear in mind that Her Majesty's Government, without professing to give an opinion on the subject, were not insensible to the superior claims of Russia, both as respected the treaty obligations of Turkey, and the loss of moral influence that the Emperor would sustain throughout his dominions, if, in the position occupied by his Imperial Majesty with reference to the Greek Church, he was to yield any privileges it had hitherto enjoyed to the Latin Church, of which the Emperor of the French claimed to be the protector."—*Eastern Papers*, part v., p. 22.

Later still, the British Minister at Constantinople, Lord Stratford, writing under the date of July 4th, and only three months before the Turks declared war against Russia, admitted fully all the charges of Turkish misrule and tyranny over the Christian subjects of the Sultan, which Nicholas and his ministers had made the sole ground of complaint. He wrote in these distressing terms of that unfeeling government: "I have frequently had occasion of late, and indeed for some years back, to bring to the knowledge of the Porte such atrocious instances of cruelty, rapine, and murder, as I have found, with extreme con-

cern, in the Consular reports, exhibiting generally the disturbed and misgoverned condition of Roumelia, and calling loudly for redress from the Imperial Government. The character of these disorderly and brutal outrages may be said with truth to be, in general, that of Mussulman fanaticism, excited by cupidity and hatred against the Sultan's Christian subjects." All this, and much more, being known to the English Government, rendered it utterly impossible to deny either the justice or the humanity of the Russian demand in favour of the Greek Christians in Turkey. Lord Clarendon, consequently, sent out to our Ambassador there the following sensible advice :—"Your Excellency is instructed to state to the Porte, that it is the deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the only real security for the continued existence of Turkey, as an independent power, is to be sought by enlisting the feelings of its Christian subjects in its preservation, . . . and that it is impossible that any true sympathy for their rulers will be felt by the Christians, so long as they are made to experience, in their daily transactions, the inferiority of their position, as compared with that of their Mussulman fellow-subjects ; so long as they are aware that they will

*seek in vain for wrongs done either to their persons or properties, because they are deemed a degraded race, unworthy to be put in comparison with the followers of Mahomet. Your Excellency will plainly and authoritatively state to the Porte that this state of things cannot longer be tolerated by Christian Powers."*

These admissions—or, more properly, facts—being beyond all dispute, there comes upon us the tremendous inquiry, which conscience, equity, and even the law of nations, combined with all that is fair, honourable, and honest, between man and man, unite to press upon us with the utmost conceivable force—WHY THEN DID ENGLAND GO TO WAR WITH RUSSIA?

Here we must pause for a moment or two to look over the whole field of action, for the answer is not to be found at home nor within the reach of the *facts* of the case. If England had no reason for war from those simple facts, then did some other party, with more cunning than herself, drag her into it?—Or did she feel about for a reason among some of the more remote and less obvious relations of one State with another, with *all* of whom, and equally, she professed to maintain a common friendship? There must have been

duplicity, or gross misconception, somewhere. Where was it? In the interests of dear "Old England" we have an undoubted right to ask, where was this duplicity, or this criminal mistake?

That it could have been from an affinity on the part of England with the avowed object of that war by any of the other parties who engaged in it, is simply ridiculous and absurd. For, so far as France and Sardinia were concerned, it was *a battle of the churches*, for supremacy at those mischievous and useless shrines miscalled "the Holy Places." And for the highest power there, France was the very first to threaten war, not so much against Russia, as against Turkey herself. Lord John Russell complained of this in the following dispatch, dated January 28th, 1853:—

"Her Majesty's Government cannot avoid perceiving that the Ambassador of France at Constantinople was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin and Greek Churches were not very active, but that, without some political action on the part of France, those quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly Powers. In the next place, if report is to be believed, the French Ambassador was

the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country!"—*Blue Book*, part i, p. 67.

With this dispute England could have had nothing whatever to do. Fortunately for us, our Protestantism did not believe in pilgrimages to holy places; nor had we the slightest interest in the squabbles of rival monks, who exhibited far more of sour temper than of humble-hearted piety in the presence of those sacred shrines. As the consequence of this, France, being bent on becoming the great champion of the Latin Church at Jerusalem, must have had *that* cherished object in view; and equally so England must have had some other. But what was that other? We did not, with France, fight for the "Holy Places": for what then could we fight at all?

Much less could England fight for Turkish misrule, tyranny, and corruption; for greatly as we might have been imposed upon at that time, surely we had not sunk so low in the scale of national vice as to become a sort of knight-errant in the service of a race with whom

polygamy was honoured as a virtue, and in whose public markets men and *women* were bought and sold as part and parcel of the traffic of every-day life. Did England, or *could* she, so degrade herself as to go to war for abominations such as these? The question, therefore, remains in all its solemn import: for what, then, did England fight at all?

The answer is both difficult and painful. Difficult, inasmuch as England had no positive complaint against Russia, having suffered no known wrong from that power; and it is painful from the plea having had to be *manufactured for the occasion*. It was not because any injury had been done to the Turks, for Lords John Russell and Clarendon, with Sir H. Seymour, had repeatedly asserted the very reverse; nor was it on account of the attack at Sinope;\* but

\* It is grievous to read the accounts given of that sad affair, and to be constantly met with its description as a "massacre," as if it was some unheard-of thing that, in war, nations should take every mean and petty advantage of each other. This is done everywhere, and in all ages, and according to the brutal code of war it is considered perfectly allowable. That it is cowardly all impartial men must admit; but when was war other than cowardly in this respect? Russia did this at Sinope, but it was in strict accordance with the usual laws of war; for Turkey had declared war against Russia on October 5th, 1853,

it came out at last, that England went to that war *to curb the power of Russia*, and for no other reason besides. But why was not this reason openly and honestly avowed at the beginning? Why were the British people kept so long in the dark on a point so vital to the nation's honour? And why were other European nations linked into that war, when they had one object in view, but England quite another? It was not a candid, straightforward course, and nothing proves this more clearly than the feeble, vapid and laboured "declaration of war" of March 28th, 1854. That document—be it said with sorrow—abounded in assumptions that were never verified, and in charges that previous admissions by ministers of the crown had proved to be utterly groundless.

But tortuous, crooked, and dark, as the whole

and the attack took place on November 30th, or nearly two months afterwards.

If, however, the battle at Sinope was a "massacre," what then were the attacks by Admiral Gambier on Copenhagen, and that in the harbour of Navarino? If, at Sinope, *after war had been declared*, the attack was a "massacre," what then were the others *without any declaration of war at all*? Wicked as Sinope was, the attacks at Copenhagen and Navarino were a blacker wickedness far!

transaction evidently was, war with Russia began with the date just mentioned, and without entering into details—which space and time will not permit—let the following particulars be duly pondered as some characteristics of that dreadful conflict. They are inserted here for two reasons—first, to show how readily a warrior can become a robber; and secondly, to exhibit the *nonchalance* with which that class of men can treat a notorious immorality:—

“We shall have grand ‘looting’ at Sebastapol, when my China experience may avail me. This is a horrible way to talk, and no doubt will shock you much; but it is one of the concomitants of grim war, and perhaps one of the most agreeable.”—*From a Medical Officer in the Crimean War.*

“As we approach the towns and villages, the inhabitants desert them, and as soon as we come to a halt our men disperse through them in search of plunder, and such a scene you could not imagine as is to be seen here in a few minutes. Thousands of men loaded with tables, chairs, sofas, chests of drawers, pier glasses, geese, ducks, cabbages, fowls—in fact, everything that can be imagined. Our men lie on beautiful beds and costly sofas in the open air.”—*Do.*

*Berdiansk.* — “All government property was

destroyed—this included corn to the value of £50,000.”  
—*History of the War against Russia*, vol. ii., p. 340.

*Genitschi*.—“The stores and corn (destroyed) were at least worth £150,000.”—*Do.*, p. 341.

*Taganrog*.—“When we arrived at Taganrog, we vented our spite upon the Russians. As for my part, I burned everything that I could—in fact, anything that would catch fire I committed to the flames.”—*Do.*, p. 388.

*Gheisk*.—“However, we burned all his stock, consisting of 574 large stacks of corn, besides his granaries and everything that belonged to him; his corn alone was valued at £30,000.”—“We are still cruising about the sea, burning and destroying everything, besides what we take away. We live like fighting cocks.”—“You may depend when I come across any money, I know I can find a place for it; but it is very scarce.”—“We have in all taken fifteen vessels, burned twelve, and sent two to be sold at Constantinople, and sent one away with the Russian prisoners on board—fifty-seven in number—*without compass or anything to steer by, to find the best of their way wherever chance would let them go.*”—*Do.*, p. 388.\*

\* The above facts, but especially the last specimen of horrid inhumanity, are respectfully submitted to the notice of Professor BLACKIE, of Edinburgh, and other devout worshippers of the god of war, as the special teacher of “moral virtues.” That learned gentleman asked in a recent lecture, “was not

*Kertch*.—"When our troops landed, they commenced to seek at once for what they could get. Some got drunk, others were holding up parasols; some put on women's dresses, and, altogether, the sight resembled a fair more than anything else. . . It is supposed that £1,000,000 worth of property was here destroyed; besides, storehouses full of grain, and public buildings were all destroyed."—*Do.*, p. 388. .

Such was the Russian war in the Sea of Azof! "The earth," we are told, "is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." From the hand of that beneficent Being came those stores of corn for the food of the people. He, in His mercy, supplied that bounty; but man—even the Englishman—in his unfeeling wickedness, destroyed it by cruel war! In the presence of such fearful depravity, is it not terrible to remember that "*whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap?*"

Into the financial part of the question the writer has but little desire to enter, after the above sickening details. He would, therefore, every national war full of blazing virtues, before which the shopkeeper's peaceful virtues were apt to hide their diminished heads and burn very pale?" Perhaps, in his next lecture, the professor will not object to quote the account of the above atrocity as one proof among many others of the "blazing virtues" taught by war!

briefly add that the British war expenditure stood thus for three years of peace, and the succeeding nearly three years of that war :—

1851—Year of Peace	. . .	£14,873,856
1852 Do. do.	. . .	16,505,904
1853 Do. do.	. . .	16,325,673

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The average being £15,901,811 per year.

1854—First year of the War	. . .	£24,580,041
1855 Second do.	. . .	48,392,057
1856 Closing do.	. . .	41,063,819

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The average being £38,011,972, or considerably above double those of peace.

Long will the British people have to deplore the Crimean war as the fruit of ENGLAND'S UNWORTHY JEALOUSY OF RUSSIA !

## CHAPTER XV.

### FROM THE PARIS CONFERENCE, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

THE "measureless calamity" of the Russian war lasted rather more than two years, the proclamation of peace having been made on the 29th of April, 1856. The event was hailed with but a partial satisfaction, there being considerable numbers whose Russian hatred had not been quenched by the blood of "half-a-million" of men. One London daily journal of some celebrity, but since extinct, had the indecency to appear in mourning, as on days of great national sorrow. It was one of the insane vagaries of that disastrous period, in which some men of small and narrow sympathies loved to indulge, and which deluded them into believing that British honour required the shedding of more blood. Moreover, the public virtue was too feeble to counteract this unfeeling insensibility to human suffering; hence there were not a few who openly denounced the peace as deceptive, and who loudly



Earl of Clarendon more particularly, the deputation and their proposal were received with marked courtesy and kindness, and no time was lost by those eminent officials in putting the weighty business into a proper train for securing a successful issue. The proposal was discussed by them with distinguished earnestness and ability; and after a most comprehensive examination of the whole subject, the following very important conclusion was unanimously adopted:—

“The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the wish that States between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly Power. The Plenipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the Congress will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol.” \*

When this proposition is carefully considered,

\* The above clause appeared in Protocol No. 23, but in the Treaty itself a similar article, though much narrower in its scope by being confined to the contracting parties in the Congress, had been agreed upon and placed among the other articles of that Treaty. It ran in these words:—

“Art. VIII.—If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing Powers any

both in its spirit and tendency, and when it is remembered that, in addition to its own abstract excellence, it has done much to inaugurate a new system of national action throughout the civilised world, it will ever be to the praise of the London Peace Society that it was the chief instrument in the hands of an overruling Providence in accomplishing such a result. Had that valuable Society done nothing more for the well-being of the human race than to have obtained the insertion of that important arbitration clause in the Treaty that closed the Crimean war, it would have been amply entitled to the gratitude and support of all who love the peace of mankind.

It should also be stated that, preceding the foregoing deputation to the Paris Congress, a much larger one waited on Lord Palmerston, as the head of the British Government, to present a similar memorial in favour of the same great object at the Congress. The prayer of that memorial was powerfully advocated by Mr. Milner Gibson, Lord Robert Grosvenor, and Mr.

misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the use of force, shall afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation."

Cobden. His Lordship was bland and courteous to a proverb, but he failed to submit to the superiority of arbitration over war as a *fixed* law of action, and as a consequence his answer to the deputation did not go beyond the use of some very polite words which amounted to just nothing for the vast interests of mankind. But what besides could be expected of a statesman, whose diplomatic life was devoted to that political chimera, "*the balance of power*"? He had far more faith in fortifications and riflemen than in that justice and mercy which, after all, are the true glory and safety of a nation!

Scarcely had the black thunder-clouds of the Russian war passed away, when the British forces were once more employed in shedding the blood of their innocent fellow creatures. It is far from pleasing to have to record these deeds of slaughter, and, did historic fidelity permit, the writer would much rather turn away to more congenial themes. This duty is also the less inviting, since the exposure tends to tarnish the reputation of an era in which a Lady Sovereign has exhibited qualities that confer honour upon the British name. With the writer, that name is only less sacred than the claims of imperishable truth;

and he deeply laments that he is under the stern necessity of describing so much of bloodshed during the reign of Queen Victoria. But deeds were done in her name and by her forces that make one shudder at the cruel inhumanity of war. On the 28th and 29th of October, 1856, the populous and unoffending city of Canton was bombarded by a British squadron, under the command of Admiral Seymour. It was a sickening scene, and the sufferings of the helpless Cantonese cannot be accurately portrayed by one who has not iron nerves. And why were those sufferings inflicted? Why did British power expend itself on nearly a million and a half of people who had committed no offence? Sir John Bowring, our Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, distinctly admitted in a dispatch written on the 11th October, that the lorcha *Arrow* which occasioned the attack, "*had no right to hoist the British flag.*" That vessel secreted pirates whom it was the duty of the Canton river police to apprehend, and those on board had, at some recent period, raised the British flag to deceive the authorities, and to screen themselves. Those Chinese officers were fully acquainted with this guilty manœuvre, and all they did was to act on the very law that

England herself would have insisted upon in any similar case. Besides which, it is capable of proof that *at the time of the arrest* the British flag was *not flying on the Arrow*, and that, consequently, there was no intentional insult committed.\* But supposing this were more doubtful than the facts of the case plainly prove it to have been; admitting, for a moment, that some blame lay at the door of the Chinese officials; where was the generosity, or the forbearance, or the mercy, of which the British so much vaunt themselves, when men, women, and children, with trading factories and dwelling houses, were alike exposed to bombs and cannon-balls, and equally involved

\* To the honour of the British press generally, let it be stated, that all the leading journals of the day, both in London and the provinces, condemned the conduct of the English forces at Canton in the most severe terms; and the following quotation from the *Morning Advertiser* may be regarded as a fair representation of the whole:—"Humanity shudders at the thought, that for an informality, or for an overt act of justifiable dislike to a nation from whom they have received so much injury, the dogs of war should be let loose upon a people, who, half pagan though they are, have displayed far more morality in the grand difference between us than this Christian nation. This, however, is the aspect of affairs at which we are called upon to rejoice, as if the blush had for ever left our cheeks, and the heroism of Britons had degenerated into mere butchery." This testimony is too true—sadly too true!

in one hideous ruin ? And for what was all this widespread misery ? The answer of solemn truth, which will also be the answer of an impartial posterity, is, that for the protection of a smuggling traffic in a forbidden and poisonous drug, Great Britain, mighty Britain, dealt death and destruction among the innocent inhabitants of Canton ! Alas for this Christian nation that historic fidelity compels the record of so black a deed ! \* †

\* "Let this nation, on this sad occasion, stand forth a noble example to the world : whatever consequences may ensue, let it recall the guilty actors in these scenes, and acknowledge the wrong, by giving full compensation to the injured. Semi-barbarians as the Chinese may be, their confidence would be won by such a course ; and the example would be such to other British officials, in other parts of the world, that a death-blow would be inflicted on that system of bullying weaker nations, which has too long disgraced the foreign policy of this country, and which for the last twenty-five years has made the name of Great Britain a by-word for injustice throughout the world."—*The Hostilities at Canton*. By A. G. Stapleton.

"It is notorious, that many of the lorchas in the Chinese waters—many, we fear, holding a British register, and showing a British flag—are engaged in smuggling, and in little else ; and if the rumours current on the spot are to be trusted, this very *Arrow* was one of these ; and when afraid of being stopped and searched, they run up the Union Jack to save themselves."—*National Review* for 1857.

The disgraceful traffic in opium has fearfully increased since 1848. In that year it amounted to £3,507,804 : but in 1858 it

† See Appendix B.

This guilty war continued, with slight intermissions, to the autumn of 1860 ; its cost exceeded £15,000,000 ; and after most fearful bloodshed in various parts of the Chinese empire, its principal legacy left behind was that of *increased hatred to the British name.* \*

But the Chinese war was not the only war of that period, for another had commenced in Persia about the same time. They were alike as to their colonial origin, and equally sprung from the petty jealousy or conquering ambition that has marked our policy in the East from the first moment of our appearance there. Sadr Azim, the prime

had reached £8,241,032. When the destructive nature of this drug is considered, it is not too harsh to say of those who trade in it, that they are "*wholesale dealers in poison.*"

\* In one of the debates on this most iniquitous war, Lord John Russell expressed himself in these very appropriate terms : — "To those who argue, as I have heard some argue, 'It is true we have a bad case—it is true we were in the wrong—it is true we have committed injustice, but we must persevere in that wrong, we must continue to act unjustly, or the Chinese will think that we are afraid.' I say, as has been said before, 'Be just and fear not.' Whatever we lose in *prestige*, of which I do not presume to be a judge, I am convinced that the honour and character of this country will be raised higher by such a policy." These words remind one of an important passage in Holy Scripture which statesmen, generally, seldom care to remember. It is this, "*Righteousness exalteth a nation ; but sin is a reproach to any people.*" Were this divine rule observed by the nations, such wars would never occur again.—See Prov. xiv. 34.

minister of the Persian Shah, gave some kind of offence to the British authorities in India, who, among other things, insisted on his dismissal as the great condition of continued peace. At the first, the Persian Court strenuously objected to this interference of foreigners in their own internal affairs, but soon after conceded that and every other condition imposed upon them. Yet in spite of this the war commenced, but with a vagueness of object, and a purposeless aim, so marked, so obvious to all thinking men, that even the *London Times* remarked, "We say it deliberately, that, on the face of the proclamation before us, England does not know what she is fighting for. We are going to make war, we neither know why, nor venture even to pretend why." \* The language of the present Prime Minister in his place in the House of Commons was, if possible, even stronger than that of the *Times*. He said :—

*"It stands upon record, and I think is beyond all doubt or question, that we have made peace in the month of March upon terms decidedly less favourable to us and less unfavourable to Persia than those which Persia herself offered some time before. What, I ask, were the objects for which we*

\* The *Times* of December 16, 1856.

went to war? What did we propose, and what was it, the refusal of which rendered necessary an appeal to arms? What is it we have gained by making peace that we could not have gained without resorting to the last extremity? These questions do not admit of any answer, because as the case stands we went to war for objects which were withdrawn, and which it was not considered expedient to pursue when we came to negotiations for peace."

If this be so, and there remains any justice upon earth, it is clear beyond all question that this war was most criminal and unjust. Lord Palmerston *attempted* its vindication, but anything more feeble or pointless was never uttered in the British Parliament. Diplomacy stood at fault, and the debating ability of the minister became perfectly ridiculous from the absence of justice to support his plea.

The cost, and general character of the war, are nowhere put into a smaller compass than by Sir J. Elphinstone, in a subsequent debate in the Commons on the Chinese question. He said: "They **had** before them the experience of the expedition undertaken to Persia, which lasted only four or five months, for which that House was called upon to provide two and a quarter millions. . . .

Therefore, if the war with Persia, which lasted but four months, cost two and a quarter millions of money, he confessed he could not see how it was possible for them to come out of this war with China, which he estimated would last for twelve months, under ten millions."

But the mere money cost of this, or any other war, is of far less consequence than the loss of moral character, which, though a Christian nation, Great Britain has frequently sustained by her conflicts in the East. The *Teheran Gazette* of February 8th, 1857, contained the Persian manifesto on this war, in which the following grave charges against England were published to the world:—

"It is the British Government which aims at subjecting to its will, and making all other countries bow down to its will. The more respect and moderation is shown to it, and which it attributes to weakness alone, the more it raises its imperious pretensions. It is for this reason that the loyal conduct of the Persian Government, and all the efforts made by the Emil-ool-Moolk have not led to a favourable issue. The negotiations between him and the English Ambassador were not yet terminated, and it would not yet be known if they would lead to peace, when suddenly a corps of

English troops attacked Bandor-Bushire unexpectedly, and took possession of this place, which the Persian Government had left in its old state, without preparations for defence, and without increase of the small regular garrison."

Do these humiliating imputations admit of denial? Is not the colonial policy of Great Britain full of proofs that they are true? Where, then, is our Christianity as a nation? Or where, in our intercourse with weaker nations, or with feebler tribes, do we show that we have any religion at all? \*

But a more terrible event than the Chinese and Persian wars took place in the same general period, which, though it cannot strictly rank with war, was in many respects cruel and inhuman beyond any precedent in modern times. This was *the Indian Mutiny*, than which nothing

\* At the capture of Bushire, in addition to 3,000 Persians who lost their lives, deeds were committed that language may not particularise. A writer on the spot wraps them up in the following significant terms:—"The capitulation found but little favour with the army, and in the ranks of the 64th especially there were growls of 'No! no! Assault! assault!' and vengeful clutching of firelocks. And afterwards, I fear that things were done in the town which were not good to do, and are not good to tell." Is this British Christianity?

more horrible, in a number of its disgusting details, ever occurred among mankind. It would swell out this chapter to excessive dimensions were a full account attempted of this fearful transaction; an outline, therefore, is all that the space will allow us as a record of this melancholy struggle.

The first symptoms of disaffection began to appear at Lucknow, in the kingdom of Oude, in about the middle of April, 1857. It spread with great rapidity to Berhampore, Barrackpore, Agra, Umballa, Meerut, Delhi, Gwalior, Cawnpore, and a large number of other places. During the two years, or nearly so, of its continuance, there were atrocities committed by the ferocious rebel Sepoys that put to the test our belief that they were men, and not demons. Nothing approaching their horrid, fiendish barbarities, or their wanton and inhuman cruelties, ever appeared on so large a scale among mankind before. Innocent women, helpless infants, and venerable old age were involved in one common and appalling butchery. For a time "the land was filled with blood," and horror, in its blackest forms, stalked through a country, of which it might be said, with Bishop Heber,

“Where every prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile.”

The scene, while it lasted, was — in the fearful words of a military writer — nothing less than “hell broke loose.”

However, some tremendous questions remain to be put and answered; and they are such as these:—How came this fiendish scene about? What produced it? And at whose door lies the guilt of this atrocious wickedness? It is to imply a dreadful amount of blame to be compelled to assert that the British policy in India, though professedly Christian, did not prevent it; and it goes far — very far — to charge upon that policy its having produced the most frightful outbreak of the present century. In connection with no other *Christian* government throughout the wide world has so awful a calamity ever occurred. What, then, brought it about in India? Mr. Mead is “firmly of opinion that the rebellion would never have occurred, but for the introduction of a grievance which united all classes in a bond of deadly and needful enmity against us.” That “grievance” was the introduction of “greased cartridges.”\* Miss Harriet Martineau

\*Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, pp. 31, 32.

says, "that it is undisputed that the disaffection had a religious ground," but that lady fails to give a more definite explanation.\* But Mr. Ludlow, with far more distinctness and emphasis, describes the immediate cause of the revolt in these words:—"I say boldly, that the annexation of Oude has been the primary cause of the late outbreak;" and he further states that experienced officers, civilians, and Calcutta merchants, all alike, "were of the same opinion, though it was so much 'pooh-poohed' by newspapers."† § If, then, the seizure of Oude was the fatal deed that caused that awful scene—and no well informed man will venture to deny it—the entire guilt evidently lies at the feet of that policy of annexation which has so long made the English name a word of terror, or an object of hate, throughout the Eastern world. These "annexations" have been robberies too frequently repeated not to create and keep alive the worst feelings of revenge in the native bosom; and even at this hour there are teeming populations on the watch for the first

\* H. Martineau's *British Rule in India*, p. 218.

† Ludlow's *British India*, &c., vol. ii., page 221.

§ See Appendix C.

opportunity of repeating the horrid barbarities of the *Indian Mutiny*.<sup>\*</sup> They cannot, and probably never will, forget the past, nor will they cease to remember that they wear the yoke of the foreign invader — a yoke, moreover, imposed by the hand of cruelty, rapine, and fraud. Mr. Layard, M.P., asserted this boldly at the period of the mutiny, when, in a public address, he said—

“No doubt what has taken place in India is very horrible, but are our hands clean? From the very beginning our empire was founded upon fraud. You remember that treaty that was forged by Clive. We began our rule with fraud and injustice, and from that time our dealings with India have been fraught with injustice.”

Mr. Mead bears a very similar testimony. His words are: “If Heaven had not a great work for us to do in the East, the cruelty, the oppression, and the measureless folly of our rule, would, before this, have produced its natural fruits, and we should have been cast out from India, a scorn and example to the nations. We have been heavily

<sup>\*</sup> In a very few years comparatively, the following, among other “annexations” took place:—The Punjab, Pegu, Scinde; in the Nizam’s territory, Nagpore, Oude, &c., &c.

punished, and there is yet a fearful blow to be endured; but after a while we shall comprehend the nature of our responsibilities, and try to fulfil them.”\* Possibly so, Mr. Mead; but one leading “responsibility” will remain inevitable, as a condition of avoiding another terrible mutiny, and that is, “*to do justly and to love mercy.*” India has seen enough—nay, far too much—of British power. That power has shed her blood, seized her territories, and dethroned her princes. Is it not now time to search about for some higher, nobler principles? Are India and the East for ever to remain the football of military sport, the ensanguined theatre for the display of warlike superiority over races naturally feeble, and socially wretched? If so, then Mr. Mead’s “fearful blow yet to be endured” may come in a way that vaunting power and haughty self-confidence least expect. “Justice” may continue to be the hero’s jest, and mercy the soldier’s ridicule; but the Great Avenger of the oppressed has not said in vain, “ALL THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD SHALL PERISH WITH THE SWORD.” (Matt. xxvi. 52.)

\* *Sepoy Revolt*, Preface, page iv.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY TO THE  
YEAR 1869.

RETURNING from the fearful scenes of distant India to a consideration of events at home, we encounter the very same war spirit, but in a totally new form, and with a cognomen intended to pass it into greater popular favour. The old Militia had lived out its day, and, with few exceptions, departed without a solitary regret, to be speedily forgotten. It was, however, no part of either the policy or the purpose of the Government of that period to allow the *spirit* of that force to die away; every encouragement was therefore given to its renewal in the formation of the *Volunteer Rifle Corps*. True, there was no danger to the country to justify the step, even on the principles of the war system itself; but there were two objects to be secured at whatever cost to consistency and domestic virtue. First, there was the determination to familiarise the young men of the land, and others, with military

pursuits, and to carry the false honour of the soldier to every family fireside in the kingdom. It was a cunningly devised scheme to convert Great Britain into a military nation by nurturing a passion for the supposed "glory" of carrying a rifle, and shooting at a target during some of the most precious hours of the day.—A second object was the extinction of the peace party, and the arresting, if not the complete suppression, of the numerous pacific influences set at work by that party, but which seriously menaced the frightful extravagance of the war expenditure of the country. And for a time these objects were realised to a considerable extent; the "lads" of the nation being gratified by the cheap honours of the "drill," and the "peace-makers" of that day having to submit to a transient discount. But after a ten years' experiment upon the population at large, both the amusement of the one party and the discouragements of the other are rapidly declining; and in all probability that *furor* will shortly leave behind it nothing more valuable than the worn-out habiliments of the brave men and boys who once composed the Volunteer Rifle Corps of 1859. Had all the noise and pretensions of that childish movement

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achieved the only plausible result for which it pleaded, namely, a corresponding reduction in the standing army of Great Britain, there would then have been something like an equivalent for its own gratuitous existence; but when nothing of the kind has taken place, nor is at all likely to appear, the whole experiment carries on its forehead the imprint of a vagrant mendicancy, travelling from door to door, and trading everywhere upon public credulity.

All the more was this to be deplored at a time when the great free-trader, Mr. Cobden, was engaged with all earnestness in negotiating a commercial treaty with France, on the basis of an equal reciprocity in trading advantages. The only country in Europe defied by our rifle corps was France itself. Yet almost at that very moment the Emperor of the French was working hard with Mr. Cobden and his noble associates in perfecting a bond of union between the two countries, that should bring their warlike rivalry to an everlasting close. But, despite this friendly labour, which England was solemnly bound to encourage to the full, she raised the arm of silly defiance in her mad adventure in favour of Volunteer Rifle Corps. What was her meaning in

this gratuitous challenge? What *could* she mean but insolently to say to France, "Come on if you dare?" It may be asked, however, is this the way to keep the peace between two great nations? Rather, is not the existence of such a provocative a direct encouragement of war?

At about the same general period the unfortunate war broke out between the Northern and Southern States of America. With that most melancholy struggle England should have had nothing whatever to do; yet by hastily granting belligerent rights to the South, she made herself a partisan in a strife where the strictest neutrality was her most obvious duty. This unfortunate precipitancy continues to be keenly felt and bitterly deplored by some of the best men in America; and as this rash act gave an impulse to the South, while it, in the same degree, discouraged the North, it aided to prolong a contest that inflicted heavy suffering on her own people, from which it will take many long years to recover.\* The more carefully that conduct is

\* Mr. David Chadwick, of Manchester, published a very able paper at the period of the Lancashire crisis, from which we extract the following particulars:—Out of the 400,000 operatives usually employed in the cotton trade, more than 150,000 were then (October, 1862,) entirely out of employment,

examined, the deeper will be the regret that England did not maintain an unbroken neutrality on that calamitous occasion.\*

and more than 150,000 also were working short time. Taking the average earnings of those numbers at 10s. per week, that gentleman calculated the total loss in wages to be £105,000 per week; £1,365,000 per quarter; and £5,460,000 per year. And, in prospect of a further reduction at that period, with loss to trades dependent on the cotton manufacture, he estimated the gross deficiency at £200,000 per week, or £10,400,000 per year!! What must not have been the suffering at the back of this fearful loss?

\* Vattel (*Law of Nations*, Book iii, ch. xviii, sec. 296) has the following judicious remarks on such a case:—"Foreign nations are not to interfere in the constitutional government of an independent state. It is not for them to judge between contending citizens, nor between the prince and his subjects; to them the two parties are equally foreigners, equally independent of their authority. They may, however, interpose their good offices for the restoration of peace, and this the law of nature prescribes to them. But if their mediation proves fruitless, they who are not tied by any treaty may, for their own conduct, take the merit of the cause into consideration, and assist the party which they shall judge to have right on its side, in case this party shall request their assistance, or accept the offer of it. . . ."

The feeling in America is evidently a deeply wounded one, or words like these could never have appeared in *The Advocate of Peace*, above all other American publications:—"Our Friends in England will in time learn where the shoe pinches in this case. It is not so much the injury, however wide-spread and long continued, to our commerce by the piratical ships sent forth from her ports, manned by her seamen, and furnished chiefly with her money, as it is the fact that her Government,

But unfortunately, the war spirit of that day did not tarry at home, for in 1863 it worked dire mischief once more in the far-off East. It opened, at that period, an entirely new field of action in an attack on the helpless town of Kagosima, in Japan. The cause of that attack, as given in the *London and China Telegraph*, involves no small amount of blame on the part of a Mr. Richardson, who, with a Mrs. Borrodaile, imprudently placed himself in the teeth of the danger by which he lost his life. As a gentleman, and one acquainted with the usages of other nations—he having resided for some time in China—Mr. Richardson should have obeyed the official order of the Japanese authorities, and not have ventured on the Tokaido, or great public road, when he was forewarned that it would be viewed as an insult to the Daimios who were expected to travel that way. But with culpable arrogance, and in the face of

by conceding in such hot haste belligerent rights to our rebels, did all it could, short of open war against us, to insure the triumph of their rebellion, and the overthrow of our republic. Here was the 'head and front of her offending.' Every loyal man in the land felt it at the time as a stab at the nation's life, *meant to be fatal*; and to this hour it rankles, as it will for ages, in the heart of our people. They will never forget it; it is hard for them to forgive it; and they ought never to cease from abhorring it."

that warning, he persisted in his folly, and as a consequence, he came into collision with the retainers of the Daimio, who was the father of the Prince of Satsuma, and by this recklessness brought upon himself the conflict which occasioned his death. To avenge his death, and in obedience to orders from home, Admiral Kuper and Colonel Neale proceeded to bombard Kagosima, the port of the above prince, and the admiral reports that "the conflagration thus created continued with unabated ardour forty-eight hours subsequently to the first attack," which, he adds, with a coolness that evinced no approach to pity, "affords reasonable ground for believing that the entire town of Kagosima is now a mass of ruins." This town was 100 miles away from the scene of Mr. Richardson's death; its inhabitants had, therefore, no more to do with that affair than those of London could have had; yet its population of more than 100,000 men, women, and children, were made the victims of a ruthless attack that laid their city in ruins. Surely some heavy judgment will yet overtake the guilty perpetrators of a crime like this! And all the more is this to be looked for, when, to employ the language of Mr. Cobden, who mourned over this

catastrophe with characteristic sincerity and sorrow, "the chief actors in this outrage on humanity, instead of expressing one word of regret, or even emotion, coolly laid claim to the approbation of their Government." But with such an "outrage" before their eyes, how must the teeming populations of Japan, China, and India, have regarded English religion and morality? Is it at all surprising that throughout the East generally, the British name has become a synonym for terror and alarm? Can we wonder that among very large numbers of those densely populous parts of the world, we are hated, or suspected, as being strong only for mischief? We are vastly mistaken if we suppose that the Easterns do not detect the most arrant hypocrisy in a people who profess a religion of "peace on earth, and goodwill towards men," but who, for the slightest possible cause, can inflict death and destruction on an unoffending city. The time, however, is rapidly approaching when we must renounce the Christian faith altogether, or abandon war. The two will not much longer travel hand in hand, or hold even distant communication. The teachings of religion are, "whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report;"

but a transaction of blacker "report" than the bombardment of Kagosima, never disgraced the annals of civilisation.

One other such event, and one scarcely less to be deplored, occurred about the same period in China. "We are, it appears," said the *Daily News* at the time, "at war with one half the people of China, and in alliance, offensive and defensive, with the other." A civil war was raging in that empire between the Tartar government and the Taepings; and the British and French forces, though pledged to strict neutrality, attacked the large and populous city of Ningpo, with a view to punish the Taepings for firing on the Imperialists to the hazard of the foreign settlement. The following statement from Consul Harvey to Mr. Bruce may safely be left to tell its own sad tale:—

"Shot and shell were poured into this large city with very little intermission for a period of five hours by the combined fleet, at the end of which time the walls were scaled and the Taeping forces were at once completely routed and dispersed, and entirely driven out of Ningpo."

Setting aside for a moment the great question of justice and humanity—for these are seldom regarded in any war—was not this very strange

“neutrality”? Who asked for this interference on the part of foreigners? It makes one blush for shame, when the forces of *Christian* nations volunteer their services in such a work of blood.

From scenes so repulsive, it is no small relief to turn to the record of an event more befitting the intelligence of the nineteenth century, and far more in accordance with the solid interests of mankind. This was the memorable proposal of the French Emperor to call a European Congress for the consolidation of existing national interests, as well as to lay the basis of a general pacification in the future. For this purpose he addressed a public letter to the Sovereigns of Europe, in which, after some allusions to the unsettled condition of existing Treaties, and the consequent danger to European interests at large, he expressed himself in the following terms:—

“We have here, then, a subject for grave meditations. Let us not wait, before taking our part, for sudden and irresistible events to disturb our judgment, and draw us, despite ourselves, into a contrary direction.

“I come, therefore, to propose to you to regulate the present and assure the future, in a Congress.

“Called to the throne by Providence and the will of

the French people, but trained in the school of adversity, it is perhaps less allowable for me than any other to ignore the rights of Sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of peoples.

“Thus, I am ready without preconceived system to bring to an International Congress the spirit of moderation and justice, ordinarily the portion of those who have endured so many various trials.

“If I take the initiative in such an overture I do not yield to an impulse of vanity, but, as I am a Sovereign the most credited with ambitious projects, I have it at heart to prove by a frank and loyal step that my sole object is to arrive, without a shock, at the pacification of Europe. If this proposition be accepted I pray you to accept Paris as the place of meeting.

“In case the princes allied with and friendly to France should deem it suitable to enhance by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them my cordial hospitality. Europe would, perhaps, see some advantage in the capital whence the signal for overthrow has so many times issued, becoming the seat of conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification.

“Written at Paris, 4th November, 1863.

“NAPOLEON.

(Countersigned)

“DROUYN DE L'HUYS.”

To this admirable proposal there was—*with one exception*—a general and, in several instances, a very hearty response. The Emperor of Russia gave to its object “his strongest sympathies.” The Kings of Prussia, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Greece, awarded to it their most prompt adherence. The Queen of Spain, the Pope, the German Confederation, with that of the Swiss, also accorded to it a very hearty support. Europe, indeed, appeared to be on the verge of a general deliverance from the arbitrament of the sword, and to be entering on a new era, where national friendship would take the place of national jealousy, and where calm reason would reign supreme over blind passion and foolish pride.

But one nation stood aloof, and finally objected; and that solitary exception, the least expected of them all as an opponent, flung back the proposal with a cold and haughty indifference, if not with a positive scorn. That obstinate Government was no other than that of Great Britain herself. Plainly, her advisers had not discernment enough to understand the “time of their visitation,” nor to interpret aright this unmistakeable “sign of the

times." They hesitated where their equals prepared to act at once, and the whole tenor of their reply as good as declared to the world that there could be no wisdom or safety for states but in the exploded and worn-out precedents of the past. Their objections were frivolous in the extreme, utterly wanting in manliness and good faith, and contrasted mournfully with the generous confidence of the King of Prussia, who, in his reply to the proposal, said, magnanimously, "*In such a work I will join with all my heart.*" The absence of a "supreme authority in such an assembly to enforce the decisions of the majority," appeared to be Earl Russell's main difficulty; but the Earl must have forgotten the weighty words of his great political associate, Lord Palmerston, who not so long before had said in the Commons of England, "SIR, OPINIONS ARE STRONGER THAN ARMIES."\* The plain truth is, Earl Russell had no faith in principles, and a statesman void of

\* The manly avowal of Lord Palmerston richly merits a permanent record. It was in these words :—"It is quite true it may be said, what are opinions against armies? Sir, my answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will, in the end, prevail against the bayonets of infantry, the fire of artillery, and the charges of cavalry."

such a faith will inevitably turn out to be, sooner or later, weak, vacillating, and unreliable. In such hands, Government can never be safe long together, but will alternate between passion, pride, and the love of power; but these unsteady motives of action being as uncertain as the clouds, national policy, wherever they prevail, will resemble "a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed." A great nation without sound principles to direct its course, cannot but be dangerous to all other states.

On receiving England's refusal to join the Congress, the French Emperor became too much discouraged to proceed further with the attempt; but, after a mild expression of regret, he quietly allowed the project to die out. He had done his best to inaugurate a better system of European action than that of cruel and oppressive war; nor will he be without his reward in the impartial judgment of posterity. History, true to all its antecedents, will record the attempt to his lasting honour; nor will it fail to tell to coming generations that the guilt of its defeat lay at another door than his own.\*

\* As many persons, equally with Earl Russell, appear far more closely wedded to the past, than inclined to borrow

It would be a culpable dereliction of duty, were no notice to be taken of the departure from our midst of two of the foremost men of their day; the one, Richard Cobden, the other, Lord Palmerston, both of whom were removed by death in the year 1865.\* Though widely differing in bent

faith and hope from the more glorious future, for once we will consult that venerable "past," and listen gratefully to its teachings. When, in 1611—12, Henry IV., of France, propounded his celebrated scheme for a permanent confederacy of the European nations in order to prevent war, it was never pleaded that such an object was impossible. The States General of the United Provinces, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, the Protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria, several of the princes and towns of Germany, most of the Swiss cantons, and our own Queen Elizabeth, promptly concurred in the proposal.—Sully *Memoires* adds, that "what the ceremony of an interview (with Henry IV.) would not have permitted them to do, I at last began by the voyage which I made to this Princess. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions and the equality of the powers, she did not to me appear at all to doubt of its success."

Have upwards of 250 years passed over our country's history with no better effect than that of attaching us more closely to "a living lie in a Christian land?" (Vide *The London Times* in 1846.) Or has the age of Queen Victoria less of faith in God, in virtue, and in truth, than that of Queen Elizabeth?

\* Mr. Cobden died on April 2nd, and Lord Palmerston on October 18th, of the above year.

and purpose of life, they produced an impression on the public mind of the nation that will not easily be forgotten. The noble lord—whose foreign policy in general can never be too strongly condemned—imagined, without a doubt, that he lived for his country; but the far nobler free-trader lived for his race. The one, by an incessant advocacy of political selfishness, coveted to be regarded as a patriot; but the other, with more generous aspirations, and with much less of ostentation, unconsciously became a philanthropist, which is “the highest style of man.” The political systems of the two men were as diverse as can be well conceived, as one single, but very important fact, will abundantly prove. The Russian or Crimean war tested their chosen principles, and correctly exhibited the two men in their relative value to the state. Mr. Cobden sedulously laboured to prevent that war; but Lord Palmerston was politically active in its promotion. The one man would have saved 30,000 English lives and £100,000,000 of money which that gratuitous war consumed; but the other, on the equivocal plea of humbling Russia, devoted his abilities to that work of death and national loss. However, they have gone to their

reward, and let peace abide upon their memories! Yet an important lesson is read out to the world from the histories of those two eminent men, and it is this: that a man, how lofty soever his powers may be, who "never professed principles, but based every proposition upon expediency,"\* cannot, by the remotest possibility, leave behind him a reputation worthy of remembrance. The fame of such a man is written in the dust, and must eventually pass away for ever, while the deeds of him who gave his prime to cheapen the poor man's loaf, and to promote the peace of the world, will be registered among the most durable records of the human heart.

Notwithstanding the virtual rejection of Louis Napoleon's proposed European Congress, pacific sentiments continued to spread upon the Continent in a very marked manner. Among the earliest evidences of this, was the publication of the international periodical which took the name of *The Cosmopolite*, and was launched under the special auspices of that earnest friend of peace, M. Edmund Potonie. That excellent periodical did

\* *Memoir, &c., of Lord Palmerston*, by Edward Walford M.A., p. 64. This brief description of the man is from the pen of an ardent admirer of his Lordship!

solid service in the interests of peace, and M. Potonie has the satisfaction of knowing that he was not left to labour in vain. Even General Garibaldi confessed to a desire to escape from war, and he went so far as to recommend a Congress of European nations for adjudicating upon international disputes. His views on the practicability of such a proposal are best expressed in his own words, thus :—"Let England and France but join frankly and cordially, and Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, and Roumelia, will come of themselves, as it were instinctively, and range themselves around." It must be confessed with sorrow, that England, at least, manifested no disposition whatever to unite in any such enterprise on behalf of a general peace. Why this hesitancy,—whether from the pride of a false supremacy or from some low, base attachment to official emolument—will one of these days be exposed openly to the world. One thing, however, is evident, and that is, that no other European power has evinced so much unwillingness to reduce its armed forces as England has done. Its stereotyped expenditure for war purposes in time of peace, is an astonishment to all mankind.

Another evidence of the growth of pacific sentiment appeared in the "Anglo-French Workmen's Exhibition," at the Crystal Palace. It may be thought to have been but a humble affair; nevertheless, it proved the existence of a growing tendency to union among the people of the two countries, and it supplied a fine illustration of the memorable remark of M. Bastiat, when he said, "The less contact there is between governments, and the more contact there is between peoples, the better; because the contact of governments menaces peace, and the contact of peoples promotes peace." After this there followed the "Peace Congress" at Geneva, the working-men's "Congress" at Lausanne, the publication of the *League of Peace*, which appeared in the German, French, and Italian languages, and then the "International Peace League" of Paris, which promises to become a power among the French in favour of the disbandment of standing armies.\*

\* A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from Paris in July, 1869, gives the following cheering account of the progress of peace principles in France:—"Up to last year the 'International Peace League' was still an object of derision, and beyond the bureau of the Association, beyond M. Frederic Passy and M. Michel Chevalier (whose courage and perseverance are beyond all praise), and half a dozen devotees of long years'

standing—there was no ‘public’ whatever at any of the meetings held, and one could not have spoken of the ‘League’ itself without provoking the smiles of what are termed ‘serious’ people. But this year all is altered, and the last assembly held at Hery’s Concert Rooms, a very few days ago, was a densely crowded and enthusiastic one. Besides the noble veterans of the ‘League,’ Messrs. Michel Chevalier and Frederic Passy, there were the most famous representatives of all the religious creeds : the Père Hyacinthe, the Pastor Paschoud (Protestant), and the Chief Rabbi of Paris and of Geneva. The Père Hyacinthe, besides making a speech which was met by the most tumultuous applause, read a letter from the Abbé Gratry, expressing the deepest regret that his absence was unavoidable, and adhering staunchly to the principles of the League. M. Michel Chevalier’s harangue, which was a profoundly political one, and touched upon all the ‘sore points’ of the present moment, created the most unequivocal enthusiasm, and a storm of sympathy greeted the following words:—‘What is monstrous is to see Europe arming against herself. This state of things must cease. The future belongs to deliberative assemblies deliberating freely under the guard of public opinion, which is, in fact, the only sovereign and controlling power.’ For any one who knows France, with all her traditions and prejudices, all her vain but strong tone of military show, it is almost incredible to see the change wrought, and I would advise every Englishman who takes any interest in French (or, indeed, in continental) affairs to watch narrowly the progress of the Peace League, and, what is more, help it if he can. Not less curious than the other speeches is the one little statement made by M. Passy:—‘A year ago,’ said he, ‘we were discouraged on all sides. “What is the use of speaking?” was the argument used then; “you are alone of your opinion.” What is said to us now is, “There is no more need to speak, for everybody thinks as you do.”’ I repeat it again and again : the one thing to keep your eyes open to is the impossibility of war.”

It is readily admitted that these, and some other similar movements on the Continent, are rarely based on the high ground of Christian principle; nay, more, it may be candidly confessed that in a few instances they aim at a sort of universal democracy, "a priesthood of genius and intellect."\* But what duty does this admission imply? What, in other words, does it teach, but the greater need there is for vastly increased activity on the part of all *Christians* to supply the divine element in which those otherwise most commendable movements are lacking? To discourage them would be injurious to the world at large, and a contradiction of the common object to be accomplished by all who seek the abolition of war. In many instances their supporters have no better light, because that better light has not been placed

Another Paris correspondent of a London daily paper also says:—"There is also a set of men in France who throw politics and military combinations to those who choose to engage in them, and chiefly turn their attention to international association, in order to prepare for the unity of nations in their individual freedom, which the events of the last decade of years prophesy neither dimly nor faintly.—Nearly 300 of the leading minds of Germany have volunteered to familiarise their country with the work of peaceful co-operation among nations."

\* *Vide* the Peace Congress at Geneva.

within their reach; and they grope in the obscurity which surrounds them, as the inevitable result of a neglect which is not entirely their own. *Christian* politicians should now take them by the hand, and perform for them the part which was done by Aquila and Priscilla for Apollos, who expounded to that eloquent convert "the way of God more perfectly." They have yet to learn that the great peace cause is not a vague expedient, nor mere humanitarianism, still less that it is a fragment or section of political economy rendered necessary by an excessive war taxation, but which, if removed, would leave the war element itself just what it is now and ever has been. But they require to be taught that to seek the peace of the world is a sacred obligation springing out of a divine system of universal love, at the head of which there stands the Father of all mankind; that, as a consequence, the peace enterprise is a solemn Christian duty, inseparable from Christianity itself; and that no movement in favour of international peace, as a permanent law of action, can, by any possibility whatever, be reliable or safe that fails to recognise *that* Christianity as the foundation rock on which the whole pacific enterprise is founded. This great and precious truth

the debate in the House of Commons, that gentleman admitted that "both Consul Plowden and Consul Cameron had violated their express instructions in mixing themselves up with the internal affairs of Abyssinia." \* Now what, under these circumstances, was the obvious dictate of common justice and national prudence, but that Captain Cameron should have been recalled without a moment's delay? Was not this step an absolute necessity for the protection of our national character? And this step, moreover, would have prevented all war in Abyssinia, and proved to King Theodore that England, at least, was no party to the culpable obstinacy and imprudence of her self-willed agent. That so plain a duty was neglected by statesmen who were officially bound to hasten its discharge, can never be accounted for until the mysteries of that curse to Old England, "secret diplomacy," shall be thrown open to the world. Then, but not before, it will be ascertained why the consequences of notorious disobedience to orders, by an inferior Consul, were permitted to expand into a conflict that cost the heavily taxed people of Great Britain

\* *Annual Register* for 1867, p. 186.

This order Captain Cameron refused to obey, but proceeded, in a spirit of haughty defiance of the King, to interfere with the internal affairs of Abyssinia. For this gross misconduct—this most censurable obstinacy—he was very properly re-proved by Lord John Russell, in the following dispatch dated April, 1863 :—"I have to state to you that it is not necessary for her Majesty's agents to meddle in the affairs of Abyssinia, and you would have done better had you returned to your post at Massowah when the King told you to do so. This it will be right that you should do at once, and you will remain at Massowah until further orders."

Facts go a long way to prove that he but partially obeyed this order from her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, and a sterner rebuke was sent out to him in the following September. However, he still continued to transgress, for Lord Russell, when referring to Mr. Rassam's mission, distinctly asserted that, "Certainly Captain Cameron, in going to Bogos, acted without orders, and incurred the displeasure of his own Government." This was confirmed, and more than confirmed, by that eminent apologist for official neglect, Mr. Layard, when, during

Crown would have instructed the Queen to say:—"I regret that the King of Abyssinia holds in captivity some of my subjects; but as several of them, including officers connected with the Consulate there, have, in opposition to the express instructions of my Government, placed themselves in this danger by needlessly interfering with the internal affairs of that country, I recommend to the wisdom of Parliament to devise means for effecting their ransom; but with the distinct understanding that in future, should any Consular agent of my Government, or any other subject of mine, be guilty of a similar disobedience to the home authorities, he must be left to suffer the consequences of his own obstinacy." This would have been honourable to the Queen, to the English people at large—and would have recovered the captives at a less cost to the country than £500,000! But conciliation was never attempted, and the Abyssinian war stands out before the world as a melancholy proof of official connivance at wanton stubbornness in a self-willed man.

But for the huge expenses of that gratuitous display of military skill, it is extremely probable that the invidious "income tax" would have

undergone a considerable reduction. And it would have been but fair to the public at large had this been the case; for when first imposed in 1842 by the late Sir Robert Peel, he stated in the House of Commons that though "it might be required for five years, yet he would propose a continuation *for three years only*." Twenty-seven years have passed since that tax first drew money from the pockets of numbers who could ill afford to meet the demand made upon their too narrow incomes, and whose families have suffered year by year throughout this long period in consequence of their diminished resources. Yet the tax continues with all the tenacity of a financial leech, and after extracting from the national industry no less a sum than £155,000,000, it remains the sad memento of our guilty conflicts in "India, China, and Syria," and supplies another proof of the folly and sin of wasting our wealth in distant wars.\* Yet, as Divine Government is inseparable from righteous compensations, it may be that an "income tax" of £6,900,000, in 1868, is the penalty due to the thoughtless admiration of war, in which so many of the British people have too long indulged.†

\* *British Almanac* for 1843. *Companion*, pp. 205-6.

† *The Statesman's Year-Book* for 1869, p. 247.

Here the period properly terminates. Not so, however, the lessons which it has been a main purpose of this history to teach. These remain to be reviewed, and, if possible, to be reinforced by whatever considerations of sound policy and national wisdom the era itself supplies.

And, 1st. It has been a period of heavy debt, and an inexorable taxation. It is highly probable that no nation in any age of the world ever spent so much of the people's money on war, or contracted so heavy a debt for war purposes, as various British Governments have done during the present century. In these respects we stand alone in the world, and merit the title of *THE SPENDTHRIFT NATION*. Our Saxon industry and enterprise, to which the world at large can furnish no parallel, with the one modern exception of the United States of America, have accumulated a capital such as mankind never witnessed before. Yet, vast as that wealth and capital have been, the universe has never seen a national debt so huge, so heavy, so frightful, as that of Great Britain! And for what has that debt been contracted? For civil government? For education? For the relief of the poor? For none of these, but for war; for cruel, guilty war! The

century commenced with a national debt of £451,699,919. In 1868, including terminable annuities (£47,930,222), it stood at £797,031,650. Increase throughout the period, £345,331,731; and during the present reign the addition to the debt has been £7,453,930. Taxation, especially for war interests, has been correspondingly large, as the following comparisons will show.\*

	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
In Prussia they spend 26 on war forces, 17 on debt, 57 on State.			
„ Russia, „	34	„ 12	„ 54 „
„ Spain, „	25	„ 18	„ 57 „
„ Portugal, „	26	„ 23	„ 51 „
„ Austria, „	29	„ 27	„ 44 „
„ France, „	26	„ 31	„ 43 „
„ GT. BRITAIN,,	43	„ 42	„ 15 „

This statement proves that while six important European states expend on an average 51 per cent. per annum of their national income on civil government, which is the only legitimate object of financial outlay, England expends but 15 per cent. for the same object, or less than one-third of theirs. The comparison is equally humiliating with regard to war and debt. The average per annum for those six states for these purposes is

\* The above calculation was made with great care about four years ago; recent changes will have disturbed the proportions to some slight extent, but not materially.

49 per cent., while that of England is not less than 85. There is no similar war extravagance in the known world. Even China, though but imperfectly civilised, manages the government of 360,000,000 of mankind with about £60,000,000 of revenue—that is, about 3s. 4d. per head per annum ; but we, with our superior enlightenment, contrive to extract from the industry of the people no less a sum than £2 5s. per head for precisely the same work. It is only fair to ask, is extravagance a *Christian* virtue, and economy but a *Pagan* vice? Possibly this inquiry may shortly be urged home upon British officials more closely than has yet been the case during the present century.

2nd. The period has been remarkable for annexations and enlargement of empire on a most extended scale. No other nation upon earth, with the sole exception of Russia, has evinced such a “lust of dominion” as the British nation has done ; and calm lookers-on can hardly persuade themselves that a ruling party among the English are not bent on universal empire. Whether this be so or not, one thing is unquestionable, which is, that scarcely an opportunity has been lost for adding to territories already too extensive and too

remote for safe and successful government. One very questionable result of this ambition has been an *apparent* necessity for large warlike forces, whose appointed work is understood to be to *keep down* the discontent which that very ambition has produced. But another and a far more alarming effect of this lust of empire has appeared in the fearful bloodshed, with all the unmitigated horrors of war, which this love of dominion, this pride of conquest, has caused in many parts of the world. Our colonial history is everywhere—with hardly one exception—a history of bloodshed. Rivers of human gore have marked the path of British conquest in India, Burmah, Scindia, Africa, China, and other parts. This sanguinary course, with a flippancy that merits the severest reprehension, has been tolerated, and even defended, on the plea of “the progress of civilization.” With such superficial reasoners it would be a waste of time to argue, for “civilization,” to be worth the name, is inseparable from peace: but, if not, in what besides is it better than barbarism itself? The government of the sword is not civilization, unless a perpetual threat deserves that venerable name. Such a government evermore appeals to man as the brute; but true civilization as

constantly appeals to man as the reasonable being, made in the image of God, and this appeal is never made by war and bloodshed.

3rd. The period has been one marked very distinctly by the inferiority of the Bible and the Pulpit to the Sword and the Soldier, in the government of Great Britain.—It is more than unfortunate when religion bends to become a mere time-server at the table of worldly fashion. Her true mission is to give law to the world, and not to crouch to the world's dictation. And especially is this the case in all matters affecting the precious, the solemn life of man; nor short of this can she act up to the merciful design of her Lord and Master, who came, "not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Her duty consequently is, *a perpetual protest against war*. She cannot do otherwise without abdicating her claim to be the ministrant of Him who has pronounced his highest blessing on the "peace-makers" of the world. That she should turn round and become a war-maker, or give her sanction to war-makers, is to act the traitor—to defy her heavenly King—and to transfer her services to the cause of his enemies. And this most disgraceful part, with but few

honourable exceptions, she has performed with a criminal consistency through all the present century. She could have prevented the great French war, but she did not prevent it. More recently, she could have discountenanced the *furor* in favour of Rifle Corps, but she encouraged it.\* And on a number of other occasions, where her strong denunciation of bloodshed would have driven back the advocates of war into an ignominious silence, she, by her compromising ministers, rather hounded them on to the murderous strife.

The Christian religion is a religion of peace everywhere and under all circumstances. It is based on that highest and most powerful of all laws, namely, *the law of love*. This fine and heavenly law it carries out even to the worst and most dangerous forms of human enmity, by teaching its subjects to "love their enemies and to do good to those that hate them." With this divine law, war of every kind, and under all possible circumstances, is utterly incompatible ;

\* Many of the sermons addressed to the Rifle Corps will remain a standing proof of the fawning spirit of their authors. How must the *pious* Lord Palmerston have laughed in his sleeve, when he found his *protégé*, the Rifleman, applauded as a hero, or canonized as a saint !

hence the wilful and anticipated destruction of the enemy must ever be opposed to the religion of the Son of God.

But how far, during the present century, has this great law been enforced by the Christian ministry? Who among them condemned the French war? \* And, with some honourable exceptions whom it would be a real gratification to name, who denounced the spirit and object of the modern Rifle Corps? Rather, have not the pulpits, as a rule, either connived at the monster evil, or openly encouraged its practice? Have they not deified the soldier, and branded a man who studied to be "meek and lowly in heart" as a coward and contemptible? In the hands of such men the Christian religion has not a fair chance in her contests with Paganism and Infidelity, but where she should be sent out as the gentle daughter of heavenly love, she is presented as a warrior thirsting to shed the blood of mankind. The result is a want of power, and, to an alarming extent, a want of solid success. She is feeble

\* Even that prince of preachers, Robert Hall, fell before the false spirit of that period. He denounced war as a system that *excluded almost all the virtues*, yet glorified the soldier in one of the most eloquent passages of British literature! Alas for poor human nature!

because she is faithless ; and, directly or indirectly, she employs the sword of the soldier, whereas her true strength lies in "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." With the soldier's sword in her hand she will never conquer the world.

On a calm review of the present century, so far as England is concerned, there are three or four words that stamp its character and will form its motto in the view of generations to come, and these words are WAR — TAXATION — and NATIONAL DEBT. WAR has been its glory, TAXATION its penalty, and NATIONAL DEBT its lasting and inexcusable disgrace.

## APPENDIX.

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### A. (*See page 152.*)

[The following singular, but not wholly inappropriate remonstrance, was addressed to Queen Victoria, in 1839, by the High Imperial Commissioner Lin and his colleagues, in the Government of Kwang-tung, Kwang-se, Hoo-pih, and Hoo-nan. These Chinese provinces contain a population of over seventy millions of inhabitants, and include, among other large cities, that of Canton, which was at that period the chief centre of the opium traffic. Much allowance must be made for the inflated and bombastic style of the Orientals; but the love of justice and fair play will readily overlook the occasional want of European courtesy in officials who had so much undoubted cause for complaint against a people whose regard for their own national reputation should have set them a better example.]

“Lin, High Imperial Commissioner, a Director of the Board of War, and Governor of the two Keang Provinces (Hoo-pih and Hoo-nan); Tang, a Director of the Board of War, and Governor of the two Kwang Provinces (Kwang-tung and Kwang-se); and E, a Vice Director of the Board of War, and Lieut.-Governor of Kwang-tung, hereby conjointly address a public letter to the Sovereign of the English country, by which she may accordingly understand the state of affairs.

“It is only our mighty Emperor who tranquillizes the central and foreign lands, and looks upon all with like benevolence.

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Should there be advantages he renders them common to all beneath the heavens; and should injury exist, he removes it for the general benefit of the world, for the mind of Heaven and Earth \* is the same as that which he himself cherishes. You, the Sovereign of your honourable kingdom, and your ancestors also, who have reigned through successive ages, have all had the character of having been reverentially obedient, which is proved by the repeated sending of tribute, and by dispatches which stated as follows: 'All the people of our country who proceed to the Central Land to trade, are indebted to the Great Emperor for the greatest justice and the most generous treatment,' and such like expressions. We rejoiced that the Sovereigns of your honourable country so thoroughly understood the great principles of right, and have been aroused to such grateful feelings of obligation for our Celestial favours. On this account, therefore, has the Celestial Dynasty cherished tenderness towards those from afar, and has redoubled its considerations of regard, and augmented the profits for these two hundred successive years. Upon these expressions of our kindness, therefore, have you been solely dependent for those riches for which your said country has been famed. But during the commercial intercourse which has been carried on for so long a period, the great number of barbarian [foreign] merchants have not been alike, there being good and bad among them, and, consequently, there has been smuggling of opium, and so duped have been our flowery natives, that the poison has flowed throughout every Province! Such (smugglers) as these only know how to benefit themselves, regardless of the injuries they inflict upon our people! This it is which the principles of Heaven disapprove, and which the feelings of mankind publicly reprobate! And our Great Emperor, hearing of this and quaking with wrathful indignation, has specially deputed me, a High Minister, to repair to the Province of Canton, and, associating

\* A purely Pagan notion—but the fundamental and underlying truth is that of being like God. What *Christian* ruler is like God? For God is love."

with me the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, to proceed to examine into and adjust the present state of affairs.

"Every one of our people of the inner land who deal in opium, and those too who smoke the drug, are all to be condemned to suffer capital punishment. And were we to push our investigations in relation to foreigners who, during the many past successive years, have been guilty of trafficking in the drug, thereby entailing upon us the direst calamities, and wresting from us immense wealth, we should find that by the laws they themselves ought to be put to death. But we take into consideration that these said foreigners knew how to repent of their guilt, and imploringly begging for mercy, they took from their store ships twenty thousand two hundred and eighty-three chests of opium, and through their said country's Superintendent Elliot, by petition, requested that the surrender might be received, the whole of which was done and destroyed by fire.\* Of this I, the High Minister, with my colleagues, have already transmitted a duly prepared memorial to Court.

We are indebted to that extraordinary kindness of our August Emperor by which those who, of their own accord, make the surrender, can in view of this circumstance still have compassion extended to them, and also have their crimes remitted. But those who again violate the laws it will be difficult to be continually extending to them indulgences, and they must abide the consequences of the new regulations. We presume that the heart of you, the Sovereign of your honourable country, is turned towards civilisation, and that you are consequently able to issue your orders to the whole of your barbarian [foreign] subjects sincerely to respect our laws. But we must demonstrate to you what is advantageous and what injurious, and then you will understand that the laws of the Celestial Dynasty ought to be implicitly and tremblingly obeyed. Upon examination we find that your country is distant

\* Lin and his colleagues were mistaken on two points—First, the opium *surrender was compulsory*, and not voluntary—Second, it was destroyed, *not by fire, but by lime and salt and water.*

from the inner land sixty or seventy thousand Le,\* and your barbarian [foreign] ships strive with each other in coming here to trade, because of their eager desires for grasping after gain, and inasmuch as the advantages of the Central Kingdom profit those from abroad. The immense profit which these said foreigners reap all arises from the circumstance of the flowery people sharing it with them, and upon what principle of reason do they therefore, in return, by a poisonous commodity, pour their injuries upon these very flowery people? Still, these foreigners may not designedly cherish in their hearts intentions of purposely inflicting injury, yet coveting such vastness of profit they become regardless of the calamities they entail upon men. Let me ask, how there can exist in their hearts that moral principle implanted by Heaven?

“We have understood that in your said kingdom the prohibitions against the smoking of opium are of the sternest severity; thus the injurious consequences of the use of the drug must be clearly evident to you.

“Since then you do not allow it to be injurious to your own country, you ought not, therefore, to transfer its baneful influences to other nations, and more especially to the Middle Kingdom.

“Of the goods of the Middle Kingdom which are exported to the outside nations, there is not a single article but what is profitable to man, being either beneficial for food, or serviceable for general use, or which can be bartered for other goods and all rendered profitable. Has the Middle Kingdom one single article which can be possibly injurious to the outside nations?

“And, besides, there are our Teas and our Rhubarb, which you outside countries could not do without for a single day, and were our Central Realm to grudge them that which is so beneficial, and not show them pity in their distress, then by what means would these foreigners prolong existence?

“And further, as it respects the woollens, camlets, and

\* It takes about *three and a half* LE to make an English mile.

long-ells of the outside countries, were you not to obtain the raw silk of the Central Empire you would not be able to carry on your manufactures. If the Middle Kingdom were to place limited restrictions upon these advantages, after what gain could you barbarians [foreigners] then scheme?

"As to the rest of our articles of food, such as sugars, ginger, cassia, etc., etc., and articles also for common use, such as silk piece-goods, porcelain, and so on, which are absolutely indispensable to your outside countries, they exceed all enumeration. But on the other hand, the commodities which are imported here are all fit for nothing more than to look at or play with; and whether we have them or whether we have them not, is a matter of no moment with us.\*

"Since then your goods are not at all necessary to us of the Central Kingdom, what difficulty would we experience in shutting up our ports and cutting off your market? But the Celestial Dynasty allows its teas and silks, and all kinds of its goods, freely to be exported by you everywhere for consumption, without the slightest disposition of grudging them, and for no other reason than that profits may generally accrue to every realm beneath the heavens. Your honourable country takes away the goods of the Inner Land, by which you not only supply your own selves with food and articles of use, but by taking a part of them and selling them to the various other nations, you reap threefold profits.

"And were you not to traffic in opium, these threefold gains would, nevertheless, evidently exist. How then can you bear, by means of an article so injurious to man, and without compunction of conscience, to search thus after gain?

"Let us suppose that individuals of another nation were to take opium to the English country to sell, and were to seduce your people to purchase and to smoke it, you, the Sovereign of your honourable kingdom, would also be vastly incensed, and

\* These childish assumptions are pardonable on the ground of the Chinese ignorance of the Western world. They do not at all affect, however, the graver charges of the remonstrance itself.

with painful anxiety would you completely exterminate it. Hitherto, we have understood that you, the Sovereign of your honourable kingdom, cherish a heart of expanded benevolence, and therefore you must be naturally unwilling to have done to yourself that which you do not desire to do to others.\*

"We have also heard that as to those ships which come to Canton, you have given to the whole of them a binding document which says, 'It is not allowed to carry prohibited articles;' thus it is evident that your said honourable kingdom's official orders are originally rigorous and lucid; but because the merchant ships are now exceedingly numerous, they have not, perhaps, been subjected to thorough examination, and it is under these circumstances that we now proceed to address you this public dispatch, that you may be distinctly aware of the stern severity of the prohibitory laws of the Celestial Court, and determinately must you cause that none dare again to violate them.

"And we have moreover understood too, that London, the metropolis of your honourable kingdom, and also Scotland, Ireland, and such like places, originally produce no opium. But it is only in those regions of Hindostan, the possessions of your Government, as Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Patna, Benares, Newa (?), and Maratta, in which several places on all the hills, is the poppy planted, and tanks are opened for the manufacture of the drug. During successive months and years has been the wide increase of this poison, and its stench and uncleanness have ascended upwards until the wrath of heaven has been excited, and the gods themselves have become indignant. And you, the Sovereign of your honourable kingdom, ought determinately, in the above places, to have the whole plucked up by the roots, and cause the ground to be dug up, and transformed by planting the five grains,† and if there be anyone who

\* This is "the golden rule" of gospel equity.

† The *Woo-Kuh*, "*five grains*," mentioned here are *Taou*, paddy—*Leang*, Barbadoes millet—*Mih*, wheat—*Shoo*, common millet—and *Tsch*, a species of small millet.

should again dare schemingly to plant or manufacture opium, do you award the heaviest punishment for his crimes. Thus would you accumulate advantages, put a stop to the evil, and yours would be a highly benevolent administration, which high heaven would assist, the gods bless, and prolonged would be your years and perpetual your posterity ! Most certainly would you be thus elevated !

\* \* \* \* \*

"We hereby grant a limited period of one year and six months, within which defined term, if there be any who will voluntarily take their opium, and surrender up the entire quantity, they shall escape the punishment due for their crimes.

"In the nineteenth year, sixth moon, and ninth day (July 19th, 1839), these Imperial commands were received, and reaching to the twentieth year, second moon, and ninth day, the term is completed (March 12th, 1840)." — *Chinese State Papers, translated by J. Lewis Shuck, Macao, China, 1840.*

The following extracts from a published paper by Mr. McLeod Wylie, of Calcutta, confirms the foregoing charges against the poisonous trade of opium. He says :—

"We submit the following practical suggestions as the result of considerable reflection and enquiry :

"1. The cultivation of the poppy should be prohibited throughout the whole of the British possessions in India, and this prohibition should, as far as possible, be enforced. In

In no nation under heaven is *Agriculture* so honoured as in China. De Halde (vol. 4., page 376) gives an interesting account of the great national ceremony when the Emperor, with three princes, and nine presidents, plough the ground, and "the Emperor sows *five sorts* of grain, supposed to be the most necessary, under which all the rest are comprised, as wheat, rice, beans, millet, etc., and a kind of millet called *Kaulyang*."

As types of civilization, which stands first, the plough or the musket ? If the former, then is China far ahead of all Europe !

ssam at present it is not enforced, and the local consumption of opium there, and its injurious effects, demand immediate attention.

"2. There should be negotiations with native states (especially the nominally independent states in Malwa), with a view to secure a similar prohibition there. It is believed that the influence of the British Government would ultimately prevail on this matter (as it has in many others) when wisely and vigorously exerted.

"3. There should be imposed a heavy prohibitory tax on the import of opium into our British territories from the native states; and the quantity admitted by sea should be restricted to quantities properly certified to be imported for medical use.

"4. The Government should discontinue its cultivation of the poppy and manufacture of opium, and discontinue granting licenses for its sale in India, either plain or in the form of addud, churrus, and all other similar compounds.

"5. The entry of opium for exportation should be prohibited from all British custom-houses, and negotiations commenced with the Portuguese Government for the purchase of the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast, so that those settlements might be included in the British territories, as Chinsurah was obtained from the Dutch, and Serampore from the Danes.

"6. Full effect should be given to the supplemental treaty with China, by prohibiting the trade in opium in Hong Kong, and everywhere else under the British flag, and by empowering the British squadron to seize, search, and confiscate all British vessels carrying opium.

"Beyond these public measures, public opinion should be expressed on this subject, as it is on the slave trade. At present no sufficient moral reproach attaches to the man who is engaged in the opium traffic. Enormous fortunes are made, and the successful traders are returned to Parliament by popular constituencies, and mingle in society among its most honoured members. Yet the frightful injury they have

inflicted on multitudes of their fellow creatures cannot easily be exaggerated ; nor are these injuries less than the miseries produced by the slave trade on the coast of Africa."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The friends of Christian missions are especially bound to manifest their reprobation of this cruel trade. While labouring to carry the gospel of peace to China, others, who profess and call themselves Christians, carry thither, for filthy lucre's sake, an element of degradation and destruction. As the Spaniards and Portuguese carried to South America a corrupted Christianity, and in wickedness proved themselves worse than the heathen, so we in China are exhibiting, not love of our neighbour, but the most hateful selfishness, and are sowing the seed of a blight and woe, such as fell on the followers of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. But if, as a nation, we will now redress this mighty wrong—if we will now honestly set ourselves to the noble work of purging our national reputation from the stain of this disgrace—if we will now at length discharge our solemn duty, and resolve, whatever may be the cost, that Britain shall no longer be guilty of hastening the temporal and eternal ruin of the millions of China, can it be doubted that God will bless us, and that we shall find, in giving up our five millions a year, that 'He is able to give us much more than this?' We may doubt how we can best accomplish our benevolent design, but our way will certainly be made plain, and the national recompense will be speedy and abundant. We must not limit the Holy One of Israel, nor, with the instability of a doubtful double heart, pursue a devious, hesitating course. Our duty is simple, and 'a single eye' will readily discover the way to its fulfilment."

Mr. Cobden also, at a somewhat later period, replied to certain questions put by Mr. Caird, M.P., in the following manner :—

"1. I should say the objects of the war are to divert public attention from domestic politics, and keep the present administration in office. Wars have generally had similar objects, and always have succeeded.

"2. Such a demand would be very unreasonable, unless the Chinese Government were allowed to make its own conditions—a right insisted on in other countries.

"3. Why seize anything that does not honestly belong to you? If I were to seize some of your Ayrshire cows, you would send me to Newgate or Hanwell. I am, however, by no means sure that it would not be a wiser plan to give up Hong Kong, and offer to withdraw from all the five ports to which we are entitled to trade, on condition that Chusan were made free, like Singapore, to the trade of all the world, and declared neutral territory. My own opinion is, that the more contact we have with the people of China on the mainland, the greater the danger of collision; that it will not lead to any increase of our trade, whilst it will occasion a constant increase of our military and naval establishments to protect British merchants and filibusters, and of course lead to frequent recurrence of war.

"4. The navigation of the China seas is free. No nation allows foreigners a free navigation of its river. Try it on the Loire, the Guadalquivir, the Po, the Dnieper. Surely you would not be so unreasonable or unjust as to demand privileges for 'all the world' in China which the other nations will not afford to us?

"5. It requires no great amount of force in the present weakness of the Chinese Government to dictate any terms by cutting off the supply of food and other necessities to Peking, as you did before. But the question still remains, *cui bono*? Who is to benefit?

"6. Of course, after what I have said, my only answer to this must be that, make what peace you will, the past bloodshed will be ineffective. It is a delusion to suppose that there is

any want of commercial facilities in China. There is no great empire where trade is so free. How long would the native opulence last if we had possession of China? Look at poverty-stricken India—compare Delhi with Nankin. Now, in conclusion, let me ask friend Caird a question. Does he believe that God rules the world upon principles of retributive justice? If so, as I am sure he does, then does not he, as a good father, sometimes tremble for the fate of some third or fourth generation, or perhaps a nearer one, on whom the sins of their fathers in the East will be visited?"

This nefarious traffic has fearfully increased in late years, and affords a melancholy proof of the great scripture truth that "*the love of money is the root of all evil.*" Mr. Wylie says:—

"If now, as appears probable, our recent defeats of the Chinese subdue the spirit of their Government still more, our smuggling trade in opium will, very likely, be still less molested than it was before; and our export of 80,000 chests from India in 1858-9 will, by 1870, be augmented to 200,000 chests at least."

This general statement is substantially confirmed by the "Budget estimate of 1868-9" of the Indian Government, who set down for the sale of opium the large sum of £8,385,800.

"The effect of this system is to pour into China an immense amount of poison, to disturb legitimate traffic, and to ruin myriads of the unhappy people who are tempted to use the drug."

Such is the opium poison traffic of the British Empire. "Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth!"

APPENDIX B.—(*See page 219.*)

## THE “LORCHA” ARROW, ETC.

THE following article appeared at the time in an influential provincial journal.

## “THE BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON.

“This unfortunate circumstance is exciting, as might have been expected, a degree of attention little, if at all, short of universal. At home it has furnished ‘leaders’ for all the journals, of whatever shade of opinion; and on the Continent it is producing an impression second only to that produced at our own fire-sides. And as the bombardment is an event that implicates, in no slight degree, the honour of the British nation, it is not too much to say that we are now on a trial of character before the civilized world, and the verdict upon the trial will depend entirely upon the view taken of this event by the people of England, and the conduct they adopt towards the men by whom the bombardment was occasioned.

“The facts of the case are few, and easily stated.

“1st. The ‘lorcha’ *Arrow* was boarded by the Chinese authorities, on the 8th of October, while lying at anchor off Canton, and the greater number of the crew seized, and taken on shore, to be examined on a charge of piracy, or smuggling, or both, of which some of them were supposed to be guilty.

“2nd. The British Consul pleads, that as the British flag was flying over her at the time, but was hauled down by the Chinese authorities, the lorcha was under British protection, and, consequently, the boarding her, and hauling down her flag, were insults against the British nation. The Chinese authorities positively deny the statement respecting the flag, or that they hauled it down; and, moreover, affirm that it was

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contrary to the acknowledged custom for such a vessel to hoist a flag while at anchor. *This custom the British Consul has never once questioned or denied.*

"3rd. Sir John Bowring also distinctly states that 'it appears, on examination, that the Arrow had no right to hoist the British flag, the licence to do so expiring on the 27th of September, from which period she has not been entitled to protection.'

"4th. But notwithstanding the equivocal grounds on which the charge of 'insult' rests, the satisfaction offered by the Chinese authorities in the return of the men who had been seized, was refused by the British Consul, who, after much useless altercation, handed over the dispute to the management of Sir M. Seymour, the British Admiral, and he, after some further correspondence with the Chinese Commissioner, opened fire on the forts, and took hostile possession of them.

"5th. On a renewed application of the Chinese Commissioner for a statement of the real grievance, since all possible satisfaction had been rendered in the case of the 'lorcha,' the admiral changed his ground entirely, and proceeded to a new demand, with which the original dispute had not the remotest connection; and as this gratuitous demand, in the nature of things, could not be granted but by the Central Government at Peking, the Admiral converted the refusal of the Chinese Commissioner into a reason for further hostilities, and the bombardment of the populous city of Canton, with the death of—no one knows how many—helpless men, women, and children, constitute the triumph of British Diplomacy, and are now telling the tale of British character to all the world.

"These are the plain, unvarnished *facts* of the case, and it remains to be seen how far the people of Christian England who, but two short years ago, subscribed their funds to provide *a million of New Testaments* for the Chinese, are prepared to sanction a course of action that must convert into deadly *enemies* the very parties whom we were so anxious to convert into Christian friends. It is far from our wish to comment in

terms of harshness on this melancholy event, nor would we, for a moment, suppose that our officials at Canton were wholly free from difficulty or embarrassment; but it is due to our readers, notwithstanding, to declare most emphatically our belief that, judging from the plain facts of the case, the language of the *Morning Herald* is not at all too strong, 'that a more horrible or more revolting crime has never been committed in the worst ages of barbarian darkness.' During the progress of the dispute there were frequent opportunities for a display of British generosity and mercy; and who would have cavilled at an exhibition of mercy among a people who, at their best, are only half civilised? But the opportunities are now lost for ever, and where we could have entitled ourselves to the world's admiration, we are much more likely to receive a universal rebuke. The stain of our brother's blood is upon our garments, and nothing short of a stern condemnation of the policy that placed it there will take it away."

The following extract summarises the effect of the attack on Canton.

"The *Friend of India*, quoting apparently from the description of an eye-witness, says, in speaking of this operation:— 'The carnage was horrible, the quantity of blood and limbs seen on the junks when they were boarded being disgusting in the extreme.' They have since set on fire, and—to use the words of one of the officers actually engaged in the work—reduced into 'one mass of ruins' the entire suburbs of the city, destroying thereby, it is calculated, 7,000 dwellings, and burning out of house and home some 30,000 people. Not content with having committed this tremendous havoc outside the walls, they bombarded the city itself for many days with shell and shot and fire-balls. That there may be no doubt about this, we quote again the language of one of the actors. After burning the suburbs, he says, 'we then commenced throwing "carcasses" and fire-balls from the Folly into the city, and got up a tremendous fire.' When we remember that this city, into

the very heart of which these murderous missiles were sent, consists of narrow streets from six to eight feet wide, densely peopled with men, women, and children, some conception may be formed of the devastation and horror inflicted."

It may be asked, is this justice, or vengeance, or cruelty? It would be a mockery to ask, is this mercy? But is there not a Divine Avenger? And will He allow the guilty to escape?—" *He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy.*"—James ii, 13.



#### APPENDIX C.—(See page 227.)

##### ANNEXATION OF OUDE.

IN a debate at the India House, Sir Henry Rawlinson uttered these words: "The great blot, the *fons et origo mali*—that to which the outbreak was to be attributed, and that which constitutes our great and insurmountable difficulty at present, I honestly and firmly believe to be the annexation of Oude." These were the words of a director of the East India Company, and one who had the credit in that body of being well informed upon Indian affairs.

"I have letters from Lucknow, which state that general mourning was put on there when the population understood that Oude was annexed; that the people tore their hair and showed every symptom of grief."—*Mr. Otway, House of Commons, April, 1856.*

“Various annexations that had been made tended to create a feeling of hatred, and a want of confidence; and we have gone on adding to our empire year after year, and to fill up the measure of our crimes, came — worst of all — the annexation of Oude. One gentleman, writing to an officer in England, said, ‘By the seizure of Oude all Hindostan has been thrown into consternation.’ Mr. T. C. Robertson, a late member of the Supreme Council of India, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western provinces, writing upon the same subject, says, ‘Annexation has, then, unquestionably contributed, both directly and indirectly, to bring about the disastrous revolt of our Bengal army. Our annexation of Sattara and Berar, on the (*by them*) accounted insufficient plea of default of natural heirs, alarmed the Hindoos; while our seizure of Oude *galled the Mahommedans*, every one of whom felt a pride in the independence of that kingdom. Thus by these almost simultaneous measures we have supplied a motive of potency to bind in temporary league against us those two discordant races whose dissension was our strength.”

“The late Colonel Sleeman, who was resident at Lucknow, warned the Government of the umbrage that would be taken by many classes at our seizure of the kingdom, mentioning particularly, *that our own Sepoys would be likely to be offended at such a step*. Another gentleman, a member of parliament, speaking in the House of Commons immediately after the annexation was made known, said, ‘I tremble when I reflect upon the effect that would be produced upon the *Indian army* by this unwise and unjust policy.’ No sooner had they deposed the monarch than they hastened to alter the tenures upon which the lands were held, depriving thousands of a home, and sending forth as wanderers those who before had been peaceable and happy. ‘In short, such is the deplorable state of Oude since it has passed into British hands, that thousands of persons are emigrating into other countries.’ Can it be wondered at, that with this state of things existing, the sepoy should seize the first opportunity that presented itself to throw

off his allegiance, to break the yoke of military servitude, and exert himself to drive out the invader from the land of his birth, who had robbed him of the heritage of his fathers!"

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## APPENDIX D. (See page 243.)

### A EUROPEAN CONGRESS.

*Nine years have elapsed since the following letters were written (excepting the last), and two of the illustrious personages addressed have gone to their final account. What effect the appeals may have had in the circle of royalty, the writer presumes not to say; nor is he very anxious to inquire. Being convinced that great changes for the better grow upwards from the people, and but seldom DOWNWARDS from thrones and cabinets, he has been abundantly repaid by the assurance that these letters have assisted to form a pacific public opinion that, before long, will rule the whole world.*

#### I.

"TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.,  
&c., &c.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"With the most profound respect, I venture to solicit the attention of your Royal Highness to the subject of the enclosed Address. One more important could not be submitted to human consideration.

"Your Royal Highness will kindly excuse my inquiring, in

the language of Holy Scripture, 'Shall the sword devour for ever?' The world groans under the weight of war.

"In accomplishing a change for the better, your Royal Highness can render service such as few on earth may even attempt. Placed by an All-wise Providence near the throne of the most powerful kingdom in the world, you are able to advise where advice will be most valuable and important.

"That the King of kings will be pleased so to direct the councils of our beloved Sovereign the Queen, that England may attain the high honour of leading the way to a more peaceful condition of our race than the world has ever yet enjoyed, is the earnest and continued prayer of,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Humble and obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM STOKES.

"*Manchester, December 27, 1860.*"

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## II.

"TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY LOUIS NAPOLEON,  
EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"Allow me, on behalf of our suffering humanity, to beseech your Majesty's attention to the subject of the enclosed Address. The peace of the world is too serious and important not to merit the consideration of all who love their race.

"Your Majesty's celebrated predecessor on the throne of France, the wise and humane Henry IV., had deeply at heart the subject of a Permanent European Congress. And who can tell but that an All-wise Providence may have appointed your Majesty to the glorious work of accomplishing the noble project of that great monarch? The highest honour, Sire, that can dignify a Sovereign awaits the Ruler who shall abandon the

dark trammels of the past, in order to consult the requirements of a more happy future. War belongs to the past—it sprang from barbarism, and has lived solely by perpetuating a barbaric rule—but peace, Sire, is the evident law and necessity of the greater future. Truly distinguished will that monarch be who, confiding in the generous sympathies of an advancing civilization, shall manfully propose to the nations to complete the magnificent intentions of Henry IV. of France.

“That upon the Emperor, the Empress, and the whole French empire, the best blessings of the God of Peace may evermore descend, giving solid splendour to the throne, and lasting happiness to the millions of your Majesty’s noble people, is the very earnest prayer of,

“Your Majesty’s sincere friend,

“And true well-wisher,

“WILLIAM STOKES.

“*Manchester, Dec. 27, 1860.*”

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### III.

“TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“I beg, with profound respect, to solicit your Majesty’s attention to the subject of the enclosed Address. In the interests of our race the humblest individual may be pardoned for appearing bold.

“Shall the world be afflicted with war for ever? Is there no remedy but the sword for the mistakes of mankind? Your Majesty possesses great influence among the governments of Europe, and should your Majesty be graciously disposed to exert that influence with our own beloved Sovereign the Queen of England, and other European monarchs, in favour of a Permanent European Congress instead of war, the gratitude of a whole continent would reward the deed.

"Your Majesty will be aware that so far back as the age of Henry IV. of France, the creation of a Permanent European Congress has been before the world. That great monarch, even in that darker period, never regarded such a tribunal as an impossibility—and if possible then, is it not much more possible now? The burdened condition of Europe at this moment proves the impolicy and danger of the present war system. It is the prolific parent of national debts, of oppressive taxation, and of increasing discontent among the industrious millions of the European world. It endangers thrones by perpetually familiarizing the people with a blind brute force instead of reason. Will your Majesty be pleased graciously to consider whether the time has not fully come for attempting the formation of a Permanent European Congress instead of war?

"That upon your Majesty and every member of your royal house, the richest consolations of the God of Peace may evermore descend, that, blest in your own hearts, you may long remain a blessing to your thriving and honourable kingdom, is the sincere prayer of

"Your Majesty's

"Humble admirer

"And affectionate well-wisher,

"WILLIAM STOKES.

"*Manchester, Dec. 28, 1860.*"

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#### IV.

##### "TO GENERAL GARIBALDI.

"HONOURED SIR,

"You have given numerous and decisive proofs of your profound love of liberty. For this I warmly admire you, and because of this manly attachment to a cause which has also my strongest affection, I respectfully solicit your kind attention to the subject of the enclosed Address.

"Hás it not struck you, General, that the sword is but an uncertain pledge of liberty? Is not the sword, in the form of standing armies, the stronghold—yea, the very life of despotism? Would not despots perish in a day but for the sword and standing armies? And is it not plain beyond all contradiction, that what is gained for liberty by the sword in one age, is more than lost by the same weapon in another?

"General, I venerate your generous enthusiasm, and your noble self-denial in the sacred cause of liberty; but being concerned that freedom shall *never be lost*, which it always has been by the sword, I beseech your great influence in favour of a Permanent European Congress instead of war.

"About two years ago you issued a striking and valuable address greatly in favour of such a tribunal. I regret that I did not see that excellent paper until long after my own Address was delivered, or I should have urged my subject with tenfold force by a public acknowledgment of the valuable support you render in that paper to the cause of peace and liberty.

"General, the world groans beneath war and oppression. Is there no remedy but by bloodshed?—none more in keeping with His holy religion who commands us to "overcome evil with good"? I believe there is, and my conviction is strong, that the pen, the press, and the Bible, will do more in the long run for true liberty than can be done by all the swords that have ever been drawn in her sacred name.

"May gracious heaven long spare your valuable life, and so dispose your noble nature, that we may yet behold your great influence consecrated to the holy work of forming a Permanent European Congress instead of war.

"I remain,

"General,

"Your sincere and constant friend,

"WILLIAM STOKES.

"*Manchester, Dec. 28, 1860.*"

## V.

“TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN (NOW EARL) RUSSELL, HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

“MY LORD,

“Permit me in the interests of our common humanity to solicit your Lordship's kind attention to the subject of the enclosed Address. Surely, my Lord, the world is not to be burdened, nor civilization disgraced, nor religion outraged by war, for ever ! In effecting a change your Lordship can do much, and the high reputation you have achieved for uprightness and ability as a Statesman, and for consistency as a Christian politician, has prompted me to trouble your Lordship with the enclosed.

That He who ruleth over all nations will so direct the councils of our beloved Sovereign the Queen, that England may lead the way to a more peaceful condition of mankind than the world has ever yet seen, is the fervent and constant prayer of,

“Your Lordship's humble

“And obedient Servant,

“WILLIAM STOKES.

“*Manchester, Dec. 27, 1860.*”

## VI.

## SECOND LETTER.

“TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, K.G., &c.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“ ‘*Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.*’ This solemn admonition, addressed to us by the highest authority in the universe, has induced me to trouble your Royal Highness once more. Time will shortly wear us all out, and while we are sauntering in our way, the spirit of war is quietly preparing the material that, one day or

other, may be employed to convert our Constitutional Monarchy into a Military Despotism.

“And this treacherous spirit imposes on human folly. ‘Wisdom is better than weapons of war’ (Eccles. ix, 18), is the assurance of Heaven itself—but who cares about wisdom! The world has run wild after war, and Great Britain bids fair to head the race. With a national debt of unparalleled magnitude, yet, in times of peace, we are absolutely lavish in our expenditure for every warlike purpose. But who among us are earnestly working to effect a change? From Hyde Park to the rustic market-place—from the Tower of London to the village ‘drill,’ the public eye is studiously familiarized with weapons of war and instruments of destruction; and who protests against the national insanity? Were the celebrated Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath) to rise again from the dead, even St. Stephen’s would turn a deaf ear to his warning voice. In a period of far less peril than the present, he stood up in his place in the Commons and boldly said:—‘I have always been, and always shall be against a standing army of any kind; to me it is a terrible thing, whether under that of a parliamentary, or any other designation; a standing army is still a standing army, whatever name it be called by. . . . Where was there a braver army than that under Julius Cæsar! Where was there ever an army that had served their country more faithfully! That army was commanded generally by the best citizens of Rome; by men of great fortune and figure in their country: *yet that army enslaved their country.* The affections of soldiers towards their country, the honour and integrity of the under officers, are not to be depended upon. By the military law the administration of justice is so quick, and the punishments so severe, that neither officer nor soldier dares offer to dispute the orders of his supreme commander; he must not consult his inclinations. If an officer were commanded to pull his own father out of his house, he must do it; he dares not disobey; *immediate death would be the sure consequence of the least*

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grumbling.' Never were truer words spoken in the ears of the Commons of England, yet who would venture to utter them now ?

"There is, however, a more deplorable consequence of this warlike rage, that can hardly have escaped the observation of your Royal Highness ; which is, that with an increase of the war element among the people, there has been a corresponding decrease in the estimate of human life. When States train civilians to the use of arms, they must of necessity put wholly out of sight the unutterable value of human life ; and with the disappearance of this great principle from among the community, the strongest curb on passion is withdrawn from the masses, and, as a consequence, murders in all forms of atrocity increase in the land. Is it not so at this very hour ? Is not the daily paper the record, with few exceptions, of a daily murder ? And where is the cure but in a *universal* enforcement of the moral law, '*Thou shalt not kill*' ? Yet, with Riflemen on the right hand and on the left, and with machines for killing in every corner of the land, who attempts to enforce that law with *honest* impartiality ? From his Grace of Canterbury, down to the humblest village curate, an unbroken silence is maintained upon that point of practical theology ; but it is forgotten that whatever tends to cheapen human life, reduces, in the same degree, the enormity of the crime of murder.

"To provide a safe and an honourable substitute for the whole system of hurrying immortal beings into an awful eternity by slaughter on the battle-field, is the object of the enclosed Address. War is not only an evil, but a gratuitous evil ; and if the rulers of the earth persist in the guilty deed, let them not forget, that at another bar, from whose decisions there will be no appeal, they will have to answer the solemn question, 'By whose authority did you shed the blood of mankind ?'

"I remain, your Royal Highness's

"Humble and obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM STOKES.

"*Manchester, September 17, 1861.*"

## A Recommendation to Young Men.


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THE Author of the foregoing brief History cannot consider his duty as completed without recommending, to young men in particular, the two following works :—

*First.* DYMOND's masterly "INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY." Having derived immense advantage from a perusal of that work many years ago, he can assure young men and others that it will more than repay them for any amount of diligent attention they may devote to its examination. For close, cogent, and unanswerable reasoning, it is not excelled by any work in the English language.

*Second.* "DEFENSIVE WAR," by HENRY RICHARD, Esq., M.P. Small as this production is, it treats the subject (and it is a most important one) with a clearness, force of argument, and comprehensiveness, that can scarcely fail to carry conviction to every candid mind. It is too little known, and far too little read. Let young men fairly *master* the arguments contained in these two works, and they will be fitted to meet any objectors to the peace question, come from whatsoever quarter they may.

To the above there should be added, the HERALD OF PEACE, than which none of our "monthlies" are of more importance to young men in the present day. It is conducted with rare ability, and may be obtained through any bookseller in the British Empire at Twopence each month.



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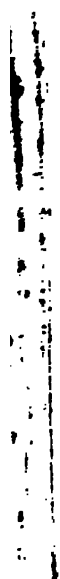
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